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Integration of positive youth development in community-based youth development organizations

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Dissertation

INTEGRATION OF POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT IN COMMUNITY-BASED YOUTH DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

by

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my grandmother, Mami Angela. You were taken far too soon, but I know you are watching from wherever you are and smiling as I complete this journey. This work is also dedicated to my best friend and life partner, Kevan Anthony, and our wonderful daughter Maya Gabriela. Thank you for your love and support.

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INTEGRATION OF POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT IN COMMUNITY-BASED YOUTH DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Despite the growing number of organizations that classify themselves as youth development organizations in the country, we know very little about them, particularly as hosts of positive youth development (PYD) programming (Roholt, Baizerman, Rana & Korum, 2013). Absent from the literature is an understanding of how youth development organizations are responding to environmental shifts that have occurred over the past 20 years as the PYD movement has gained ground and legitimacy. Out of this movement has emerged an asset-based framework for working with young people. This framework is starkly different from the traditional view of youth, which historically has treated this age group as deficient and as passive recipients of services. PYD, on the other hand, sees youth as active contributors to society. PYD's focus is on helping youth gain the skills and competencies necessary to transition successfully into adulthood. This study explored how PYD is influencing the work of community based youth development organizations. In addition, this study looked at how institutional pressures are influencing the way organizations are responding to PYD. The following research questions grounded the

study: 1) How is PYD influencing community-based youth development organizations? 2) Are community-based youth development organizations responding similarly to the PYD logic? 3) How are isomorphic pressures influencing the adoption of PYD in community-based youth development organizations? 4) What is the relationship between the isomorphic pressures organizations face and the degree to which PYD strategies are implemented in daily practice?

This study used a qualitative multiple case study method to examine three community-based youth organizations in a northeastern city of the United States. This study yielded three main findings: 1) PYD is influencing the work of community-based youth organizations; 2) implementation of PYD varies across organizations; and 3) institutional pressures explain some, but not entirely how PYD is being adopted in community-based youth development organizations. The findings from this study provide important insights on how PYD is influencing community-based organizations by describing how organizations are translating PYD into practice and how this relates to institutional pressures faced by these organizations.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBYDO ..... Community-Based Youth Development Organization

IRB .....Institutional Review Board

PYD ..... Positive Youth Development

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Over the past twenty years, the positive youth development (PYD) movement has gained ground (Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas & Lerner, 2005). Despite the proliferation of PYD, missing from the literature is the study of youth-serving organizations as settings of PYD programming (Roholt et al., 2013). Little is know about how youth organizations are integrating PYD. Absent from the literature is an understanding of the factors influencing the integration of PYD in these settings. This gap in the literature is problematic given these systems are the primary hosts of youth development programming (Roholt et al., 2013). The successes and challenges of any given youth development program are tied to the inner workings of youth development organizations. Roholt et al. (2013) put it as follows, "It is important to give scholarly attention to youth organizations—their structure, ethos, culture, social organization, and processes—as hosts to youth-serving programs. Without organizations, these programs would be homeless" (p. 14). Moreover, greater understanding of youth organizations is necessary in order to better understand PYD programming and to inform the integration of PYD in other settings such as schools, government agencies and faith-based organizations.

PYD philosophy and practice departs from traditional views of youth. Traditional perspectives date back to the early 1990s when Stanley Hall[1] first introduced the term adolescence. These perspectives are grounded in deficit orientations that see this stage in

[1] In 1904, Stanley Hall published a two volume work entitled *Adolescence, its Psychology, and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education.*

the lifespan as inevitably tumultuous (Sebald, 1968; Muuss, 1971; Rich, 2003). Recent views of adolescence frame this stage more positively. This stage in the lifespan is seen as multi-dimensional and shaped by contextual factors (Lerner & Galambos, 1998; Larson, 2002; Brown & Larson, 2002; Arnett, 2002). From this perspective, adolescence does not follow one single trajectory, but takes on various shapes and forms. PYD's asset-based framework aligns with contemporary views of adolescence.

From a PYD perspective, youth are seen as active contributors to society. PYD theory "emphasizes that if young people have mutually beneficial relations with the people and institutions of their social network, they will be on their way to a hopeful future marked by positive contributions to self, family, community and civil society" (Lerner et al., 2005, p. 12). The expansion of PYD has seen the rise of two complementary, yet distinct movements – Community Youth Development (CYD) and Youth-Led movement (see Villaruel, Perkins, Borden & Keith, 2002 and Delgado & Staples, 2008). All three movements, some to a greater extent than others, emphasize the *sixth C* of PYD[2], the "contributions" of youth (Lerner, 2004). This concept encompasses a continuum ranging from youth-led efforts to meaningful involvement of young people in program design, program delivery and organizational governance. Active engagement in these types of activities moves youth away from mere recipients of services to critical actors in youth-related work. At the practice level, youth organizations are integrating the *sixth C* among other elements of PYD at increasing rates. Despite this growing integration of PYD elements into the practice of youth organizations, very little is known

[2] Six Cs of PYD are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

about what is influencing organizations to integrate PYD elements. The growing acceptance and legitimacy of PYD at the level of practice, as well as the increase of PYD research, make this an opportune time to expand the knowledge base on youth organizations.

Youth-serving organizations play an important role in the lives of youth (McLaughlin, 2000). Researchers have referred to youth organizations as "sanctuaries" (McLaughlin, Irby & Langman, 1994). More recently, these settings have been depicted as more than safe settings or "places of hope" (McLaughlin et al., 1994); youth serving organizations are recognized as important contributors to the healthy and positive development of young people (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Borden, Perkins, Villaruel, Carleton-Hug, Stone & Keith, 2006; Deschesnes, McLaughlin & O'Donoghue, 2006). Deschesnes et al. (2006) note that in low-income communities, nonprofit organizations fill gaps left by other social institutions. For young people, these organizations "provide the assets, supports and safe havens that enable youth to navigate through and around the institutional challenges and potholes of their communities as well as become the catalysts for change" (Deschesnes et al., 2006, p. 508). Despite the critical role youth organizations play in the lives of young people, the literature on youth organizations is limited. This research gap is even more glaring when you look at the integration of PYD in youth organizations.

The present study began with the premise that over the past 20 years PYD has gained sufficient acceptance and legitimacy in the field of child development and developmental psychology to influence the structure and the work of youth serving

organizations. Based on this premise, this study addresses the gap in the literature by describing the ways in which the PYD framework is being integrated in community-based youth development organizations (CBYDOs). The ways in which institutional pressures are influencing organizational responses to PYD are also explored.

New institutionalism theory argues that over time organizations become increasingly more like one another (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Early new institutionalism theorists argued that as organizational fields become more established there is a tendency to have less variability among its members. This results in organizations gaining greater legitimacy, both internally and externally (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1987). More recently, new institutionalism has looked beyond homogeneous tendencies and recognized that not all organizations respond similarly to isomorphic pressures (Powell, Gammal & Simard, 2005; Barman & MacIndoe, 2012). This study employed new institutionalism as a theoretical framework to examine the extent to which community-based youth organizations are responding in similar ways to institutional pressures to adopt PYD.

Study Rationale

This study builds on an important question posed by McLaughlin et al. (1994) in their work *Urban Sanctuaries: Neighborhood Organizations in the Lives and Futures of Inner-City Youth*, which looked at youth organizations and the role they play in the lives of inner-city youth. In this work, the authors pose the following question: "If some organizations are effective in redeeming the lives of inner-city youth, why are there not more modeled after them?" (p. 7). It is difficult to replicate successful models of youth

organizations when little has been written about them. Through a better understanding of youth serving organizations, we can begin to look at the question of replication and expansion of organizational systems that facilitate PYD. Case study methodology was employed in order to determine: 1) the ways in which PYD is being integrated in community-based youth development organizations and 2) to explore the factors influencing the integration of PYD into youth serving organizations.

Research Questions

This study examined the relationship between the types of isomorphic pressures – coercive, mimetic and normative – and the degree to which organizations are incorporating PYD into their practice. Organizations struggle with the incorporation of youth voice (Costello et al., 2001). Therefore, this study paid particular attention to youth *participation/youth voice* to look at the extent to which organizations were integrating PYD strategies in their formal structure as well as their day-to-day activities. The following research questions guided the study:

1) How is PYD influencing practice in community-based youth development organizations?
2) Are community-based youth development organizations responding similarly to the PYD logic?
3) How are isomorphic pressures influencing the adoption of PYD in community-based youth development organizations?

4) What is the relationship between the isomorphic pressures organizations confront and the degree to which PYD strategies are implemented in daily practice?

Chapter Organization

An important paradigm shift has happened in the youth field as a result of PYD. The knowledge base, however, is limited when it comes to understanding how this shift is affecting community-based youth development organizations. The present chapter provides brief contextual background and rationale for this study. In addition, the aim and research questions that guided this study are reviewed in this chapter. Chapter two provides additional context for this study by presenting the research literature related to PYD and new institutionalism. Chapter three discusses the multiple case study methodology used to study three community-based youth development organizations. In addition, this chapter presents the study's design, case- screening procedures, sample, data collection, analysis and limitations. The study's findings are presented in chapters four, five, six and seven. Specifically, chapters four through six present findings for each individual case. Chapter seven provides findings across the three cases included in this study. Discussion of the study's findings and implications for research, practice and policy are presented in chapter eight.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Traditional views of youth have been deficit-based. "Historically, there has been a tradition in the United States of regarding the second decade of life as a period during which adolescents are destined for a period of developmental risks" (Balsano, Theokas & Bobek, 2009, p. 624). These perspectives date back to when developmental psychologist, Stanley Hall, first introduced the term *adolescence*. Hall presented adolescence as a "phylogenetic period when human ancestors went from being beast-like to being civilized. Hall (1904) saw adolescence as a period of storm and of stress, as a time of universal and of inevitable upheaval" (Steinberg & Lerner, 2004, p. 46). Based on these early perspectives, youth have historically been treaded as problems to be solved. Balsano et al. (2009) point out that this tradition has " led to a range of programs and policies at problem prevention or remediation in regards to risks viewed as "inevitable" among young people (e.g., drug and alcohol use and abuse or unsafe sexual practices" (p. 624).

Contemporary views of adolescence shifted from a deficit-based orientation to a more contextualized or ecological approach. For example, developmental psychology views adolescence from a historical, social, organizational and institutional lens (Dornsbusch, 1989; Lerner & Galambos, 1998). These views are rooted in contemporary developmental systems theories, which looks at the relationship between individuals and contexts. Lerner and Castellino (2002) explain developmental contextualism as follows:

Developmental contextualism promotes a relational unit of analysis as a requisite

> for developmental analysis. Variables associated with any level of organization exist (are structured) in relationship to variables from other levels; the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the function of any variable are shaped as well by relations that variable has with those from other levels. Unilevel units of analysis (or the components of, or elements in, a relation) are not adequate targets of developmental analysis; rather, the relation itself-the interlevel linkage- should be the level of analysis (p. 124).

Moreover, the models of human development emerging from contemporary developmental systems theories move away from reductionist perspectives.

> These models of human development eschew the reduction of individual and social behavior to fixed genetic influences and instead stress the relative plasticity of human development and argue that this potential for systematic change in behavior exists as a consequence of mutually influential relationships between the developing person and his or her biology, psychological characteristics, family, community, culture, physical and designed ecology, and historical niche (Lerner et al., 2005, p. 11).

Balsano et al. (2009) point out that from a developmental systems theory approach, "individuals are influenced by contexts while, at the same time, they influence the contexts of which they are a part" (p. 624). From this perspective, "all adolescents have the potential for positive development" (Balsano et al., 2009). Therefore, the singular and deterministic view of adolescence has been supplanted by a strengths-based perspective that recognizes the potentiality for positive development for all youth and their ability to

not only be influenced upon, but to act upon their environment.

Concurrent to these developments has emerged the concept of positive youth development. Lerner (2005) states that from a PYD perspective, practitioners, scholars and policy makers can continue to look for interventions aimed at the reduction of problem behaviors. "Moreover, the plasticity emphasized within the PYD perspective indicates as well that the developmental system can be directed to the promotion of desired outcomes, and not only the prevention of undesirable behaviors" (Lerner et al., 2005, p. 12). Youth are no longer being treated as "problems to be managed" (Roth, Brooks-Gunn, Murray, & Foster, 1998). According to Damon (2004), "The positive youth development perspective emphasizes the manifest potentialities rather than the supposed incapacities of young people-including young people from the most disadvantaged backgrounds and those with the most troubled histories" (p. 14). The focus is on youth's positive development as individuals and their potential to meaningfully contribute to society.

The emergence of PYD has transformed practice, research and policies aimed at youth. From a practice perspective, PYD programming is taking place daily in various settings. These settings, however, have received little attention. Moreover, youth organizations, particularly as hosts of PYD programming have not been studied (Roholt et al., 2013). This in turn is the focus of the present study. This chapter reviews the research literature that grounded this study. The first section presents an overview of the PYD literature. As stated earlier, this study used new institutionalism as a guiding theoretical framework to understand the ways in which community based youth

development organizations are responding to PYD. The second section of this chapter reviews new institutionalism theory. The last section of this chapter presents the study's conceptual framework.

Positive Youth Development

PYD has contributed to an examination of the potential contributions youth can make in society "not simply as adults in the making," but as young people in the "here and now." The reframing of youth as assets has shifted the way young people as a group are seen and challenged the opportunities that are available (or not available) to them. Mahoney and Lafferty (2003) state, "The PYD movement's fundamental assumption is that enduring, positive results in a young person's life are most effectively achieved through guidance, support, opportunities and involvement, rather than interventions aimed at removing problems" (p. 3).

PYD is used in three ways: *process, principles, and practice* (Hamilton, Hamilton & Pittman, 2004). Based on developmental theory, *process* stresses the developmental tasks of adolescence. The *principles* of PYD refer to a general philosophy upheld by the field. A central belief is that all youth need to be provided the opportunities and supports to become confident and competent adults (Batavick, 1997; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Pittman, Irby, & Ferber, 2001). PYD emphasizes the manifest potentialities rather than the supposed incapacities of youth (Damon, 2004). *Practice* refers to the actual application of the PYD framework. Programs grounded on the principles of PYD are holistic (Kirby & Coyle, 1997) and emphasize the positive development of youth by

providing mechanisms for youth to achieve positive outcomes (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 1998).

Cs	Definition
Competence	Positive view of one's actions in domain specific areas including social, academic, cognitive, and vocational. Social competence pertains to interpersonal skills (e.g., conflict resolution). Cognitive competence pertains to cognitive abilities (e.g., decision making). School grades, attendance, and test scores are part of academic competence. Vocational competence involves work habits and career choice explorations.
Confidence	An internal sense of overall positive self-worth and self-efficacy; one's global self-regard, as opposed to domain specific beliefs.
Connection	Positive bonds with people and institutions that are reflected in bidirectional exchanges between the individual and peers, family, school, and community in which both parties contribute to the relationship.
Character	Respect for societal and cultural rules, possession of standards for correct behaviors, a sense of right and wrong (morality), and integrity.
Caring	A sense of sympathy and empathy for others.
Contribution	Contributing positively to self, family, community and civil society.

Table 1. Six Cs of PYD (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003, Lerner, 2004).

PYD programs aim to meet outcomes that can be summarized using the Cs of PYD: competence, confidence, character, connections, caring and contributions (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Lerner, 2004). Table 1 summarizes the six-Cs of PYD. A focus on contributions scrutinizes the traditional adult-youth relationship by promoting the inclusion of youth voice in shaping change at the individual, organizational and community level. This also facilitates a process by which youth acquire a sense of commitment and responsibility for the common good and internalize a positive attitude toward active citizenship (Golombek, 2002). Checkoway and Gutierrez (2010) state, "Youth participation is consistent with the view of "youth as resources," and contrasts with the image of "youth as problems" that permeates the popular media, social science, and professional practice when referring to young people" (p. 2). Meaningful youth participation is, therefore, an integral part of PYD.

The growing emphasis on active citizenship of young people has seen a growing body of literature speaking to the various spaces where youth can contribute. For instance, youth participation in research (Harper & Carver, 1999; Checkoway & Richards-Schuster, 2003; Delgado, 2006), organizing (Delgado & Staples, 2008; Ginwright & James, 2002) and other areas traditionally thought of as adult spaces (see Checkoway, Allison, & Montoya, 2005). Increasingly, youth programs, communities, schools and other settings where youth spend large portions of the day are stressing active participation of young people in shaping programs and changing communities. For instance, the Foster Care Independence Act of 1999 required states to involve youth in

the design of state independent living programs and give youth voice in developing their case plans (Morse, Markowitz, Zanghi & Burns, 2003).

Youth participation has been conceptualized in several ways. At the most basic level, participation is seen as simply the number of youth who take part in a given activity or program (Bessant, 2004). Others see youth participation as more than just getting youth through the doors of an organization. For instance, Checkoway (2011) states that youth participation "refers to their active participation and real influence in the decisions that affect their lives, not to their token or passive presence in adult agencies" (p. 22). Similarly, O'Donoghue, Kirshner and McLaughlin (2002) see youth participation "as a constellation of activities that empower adolescents to take part in and influence decision making that affects their lives and to take action on issues they care about" (p. 16). Meaningful participation is more than token inclusion; it is a process that gives youth a "voice" and direct involvement in shaping decisions (Pearson & Voke, 2003).

Moreover, youth participation emphasizes citizenship or the building of civil society. From this perspective, youth participation has the long-term goal of ensuring youth grow up to be civically engaged adults. Participation is seen as the development of effective and engaged citizenry (Pearson & Voke, 2003). Checkoway et al. (2005) argue that youth participation in public policy strengthens democratic society based upon the "rule of the people." While some agree that civically engaged adults is one of the goals of participation, they also argue that through meaningful participation youth are strengthening society as citizens in the "here and now" (Golombek, 2002).

Community Youth Development (CYD) and the youth-led movement take the concept of youth participation further than PYD. CYD integrates the PYD framework and "provides a context of this engagement" (Perkins, Borden, Keith, Hoppe-Rooney & Villaruel, 2003). PYD treats "youth as partners" in problem solving while CYD engages youth as "interpreters and developers of solutions" (Perkins et al., 2003). Delgado and Staples state, "it is best to view community youth development from a broad perspective that encompasses enhancing the power of youth to achieve social change" (p.48). Meanwhile, the youth-led movement is often interchanged with other concepts such as youth leadership, youth civic engagement, youth decision-making, and youth empowerment (Delgado & Staples, 2008). The youth-led movement emphasis is on participatory democracy and social change. Youth leadership is central to the youth-led movement.

The growing acceptance of PYD is transforming the field of youth work. Initial evidence points to youth serving organizations changing in light of the growing acceptance and legitimacy of PYD (Scott, Deschesnes, Hopkins, Newman & McLaughlin, 2006). Along with PYD greater emphasis has been placed on the concepts of *youth empowerment*, *youth voice*, and *youth participation* as cornerstones of youth work; thus, questioning organizations' traditional structures and their technical work. Youth organizations are being seen as more than "safe havens;" they are critical spaces that support and facilitate the positive development of young people. Although the literature recognizes that youth organizations are responding to the new framework (Zeldin, McDaniel, Topitzes, & Calvert, 2000; Zeldin, Camino, & Mook, 2005), little has

been done to understand the factors that are influencing the implementation of PYD elements.

Despite being a critical element of the PYD framework, there is hesitation at the organizational level to fully involve youth in decision-making (Costello, Toles & Spielberger & Wyn, 2001). Costello et al. (2001) argue that organizations "with a serious commitment to youth development must recognize that *care and service* to youth are not enough. Attention must also be given to fostering the development of self-worth, independence and competence through involvement in organizational life" (p. 191).

Research has not focused on the external factors driving organizations to fully adopt PYD and has looked more at the internal restructuring of organizations that have made a commitment to the framework. For instance, Zeldin et al. (2005) looked at youth-adult partnerships from an innovation perspective and identified managerial guidelines (e.g., gain clarity and consensus on the purpose of youth-adult partnerships; mobilize and coordinate a diverse range of stakeholders) for supporting the adoption of PYD. While this research focuses on the actions organizations need to take to adopt the new practice, it does not look at the factors guiding the initial decision to adopt the innovation. Likewise, this research does not look to see if organizations are adopting the innovation in similar ways.

New Institutionalism

A new institutionalism perspective provides a helpful framework for examining organizational responses to the growing acceptance and legitimization of PYD. Scott (2003) states, "Socially constructed belief and rule systems exercise enormous control

over organizations both how they are structured and how they carry out their work" (p. 120). Meyer and Rowan (1977) point out that institutionalized elements (e.g., professions, programs and technologies) of formal structure prescribe organizing behavior. Tolbert and Zucker (1983) state, "Institutionalization refers to the process through which components of formal structure become widely accepted, as both appropriate and necessary, and serve to legitimate organizations. Most fundamentally, the process is one of social change" (p. 25). Early new institutionalism argued that over time organizations become more homogeneous. Isomorphism is a result of the restructuration of organizational fields, which are comprised of organizations that together form a recognized area of institutional life (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). As an organizational field becomes more established there is less variability among its members, which contributes to increased legitimacy and the sustainability of the organization over the long run (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1987). In their seminal article, Meyer and Rowan (1977) state that organizations adopt institutionalized products, services, techniques, policies and programs ceremonially, while maintaining a gap between their formal structure and actual work activities. Organizations remain loosely coupled to maintain legitimacy.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) identify three mechanisms through which institutional isomorphism occurs: "1) *coercive* isomorphism that stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy; 2) *mimetic* isomorphism resulting from standard responses to uncertainty; 3) *normative* isomorphism, associated with professionalization" (p. 150). Coercive isomorphism takes into account the role other organizations have on

organizational behavior, such as the pressures exerted on an organization by laws, regulations or informal expectations. The second mechanism by which isomorphism comes about is due to uncertainties in the environment. During moments of ambiguity, organizations will have a tendency to mimic each other. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) state, "Models may be diffused unintentionally, indirectly through employee transfer and turnover, or explicitly by organizations such as consulting firms or industry trade associations. Even innovation can be accounted by the organizational modeling" (p. 151). The third source or isomorphism comes from normative pressures, which mainly come about from professionalization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Professionals in similar disciplines tend to be educated in similar ways and share professional networks, which then shapes their work within their organizations.

More recent new institutionalism literature departs from the notion of homogeneity. Schneiberg and Clemens (2006) point out that institutional factors may produce increases in heterogeneity across organizations within a field and not homogeneity as new institutionalism once argued. A focus on institutional logics recognizes the role cultural rules and cognitive structures have in shaping organizational structures (Thorton & Ocasio, 2008); however, the emphasis is "no longer on isomorphism, whether in the world system, society, or organizational fields, but on the effects of differentiated institutional logics on individuals and organizations in larger variety of contexts, including markets, industries and populations of organizational forms" (p. 100). Thorton and Ocasio (1999) define institutional logics, "as the socially constructed, historical patterns practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which

individuals produced and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space and provide their social reality" (p. 804). Institutional logics "serve as organizing principles, spelling out vocabularies of motives, courses of action, and conceptions of identity" (Powell et al., 2005, p. 236). Drawing from Nordic management scholars, Powell et al. (2005) use the concepts of translation and circulation to study the transfer of managerial practices within and across sectors. In their study, they found that organizations respond in a variety of ways to pressures for accountability and the adoption of business-like practices. Responses varied depending on the extent to which organizations were exposed to the new managerial practices. In a more recent study, Barman and MacIndoe (2012) looked at the implementation of outcome measurement by nonprofit organizations. The authors found that less than half (45%) of the organizations in the study were implementing outcome measurement. Upon testing theoretical explanations for this variation, the authors found that uneven implementation could be explained by not only by institutional pressures, but organizational capacity. Organizations with written policies and relevant technical expertise were more likely to implement outcome measurement.

Conceptual Framework

This study utilized new institutionalism theory as the guiding theoretical framework. Padgett (2008) states that in qualitative research a conceptual framework is a guiding influence to ensure the study will be more than just description. Figure 1 outlines the conceptual framework used for the current study.

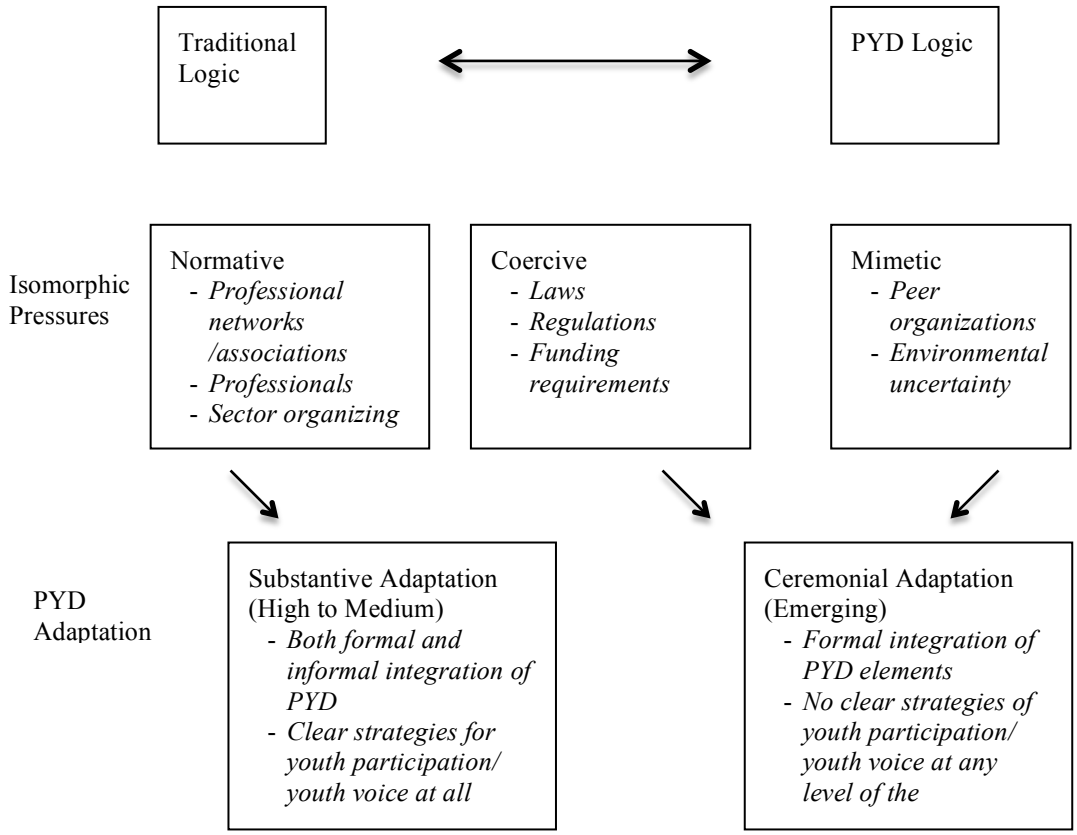

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

Community-Based Youth Development Organizations

Youth serving organizations include schools, government agencies and community-based organizations. This broad range of organizations presents a challenge for the youth field because of their disparate focus areas (e.g., education and child welfare). Community-based youth development organizations (CBYDOs) can be treated as a subset, or what new institutionalism refers to as an organizational field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The Carnegie Council on Adolescence terms this type of organization as "grassroots youth development organizations." These organizations function autonomously and independently from other organizations and institutions (Eccles &

Gootman, 2002). Community-based youth development organizations differ from larger national youth organizations (i.e., Boys and Girls Clubs), which have franchises all over the nation. Costello et al. (2001) group national youth development organizations and community based youth development organizations under one heading, primary supports. The following characteristics apply to primary supports: voluntary participation, autonomy and flexibility, professionalism, and caring adult relationships.

Positive Youth Development Program/Organization

In this study, I focus on what Hamilton et al. (2004) call the *practice* or the actual application of PYD. PYD programs are holistic (Kirby & Coyle, 1997) and provide mechanisms for youth to achieve positive outcomes (Catalano et al., 1998). Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003) recognize that the definition PYD programs remains elusive and evolving despite the number of programs that exist; nevertheless, they have put forth the following definition:

> Youth development programs seek not only to prevent adolescents from engaging in health-compromising behaviors but also to build their abilities and competencies. They do this by increasing participants' exposure to supportive and empowering environments where activities create multiple opportunities for a range of skill-building and horizon-broadening experiences (p. 110).

In other words, PYD programs have a broader focus than problem reduction. These programs are holistic and provide a range of opportunities for youth to gain the skills and competencies necessary for successful adulthood.

Youth Voice/Youth Participation

Youth voice has been a challenging PYD element for organizations to implement (Costello et al., 2000). For this study, I relied on Checkoway's (2003; 2011) definition of youth participation, "Youth participation refers to the active engagement and real influence of young people, not to their passive presence or token roles in adult agencies" (p. 341). Checkoway (2011) further states:

> The quality of participation is measured not only by its scope, such as the number of people who attend a number of activities, but also by its quality, such as when people have real effect on the process, influence a particular decision, or produce a favorable outcome (p. 341).

Furthermore, Youth participation is a PYD strategy and refers to a "public attitude that encourages youth to express their opinions, to become involved, and to be part of the decision-making process at different levels" (Golombek, 2002, p. 8).

Isomorphic Pressures

Organizations face coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphic pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Scott et al. (2006) point to the restructuration of the youth services field. Specifically, they point out that youth services are increasingly coming together to work in partnership with young people and setting common goals. Newer networks among youth serving professionals point to a normative type of pressure organizations may be experiencing to integrate PYD elements. In addition to professional networks, there are more offerings of higher education degrees and certifications focused

on PYD. Professionals with similar training may be influencing greater implementation of PYD strategies. PYD is relatively new and therefore, it can be a source of great uncertainty for organizations. In light of this uncertainty, organizations may be imitating the behavior of organizations that they deem as successful (i.e., public recognition, increase in funding). Moreover, funding sources and policies may be serving as coercive pressures for organizations to implement PYD.

Loosely Coupled

The term loosely coupled refers to a strategy organizations use to conform to institutionalized myths. The decoupling of daily organizational activities from the formal structure happens in order to maintain the appearance of conformity with institutionalized myths. Decoupling allows organizations to maintain standardized, legitimating formal structures (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In practice, however, organizations will base their activities on practical considerations. Organizations that are loosely coupled will adopt institutionalized myths in ceremonial ways (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Institutional Logics

As stated earlier, institutional logics refers to the "(…) socially constructed, historical patterns practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produced and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space and provide their social reality" (Thorton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804). Community-based youth development organizations are grappling with a new logic, PYD, as well as the traditional logic that has dominated the youth field for many years.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Study Design

A qualitative case study method was utilized to conduct the present study. The case study approach to qualitative inquiry is an in-depth description of processes, a program, event or activity (Padgett, 2008). Yin (2003a) states that a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, particularly when boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. Case study methodology is appropriate when trying to understand present circumstance and, even more so, when research is trying to create an in-depth description of some social phenomena (Yin, 2014). The type of research question is also an important consideration in determining the appropriateness of the case study method. How and why questions lend themselves to the case study method. "This is because such questions deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidences" (Yin, 2014, location 810 digital source). Yin (2014) further states that the case study method is appropriate over other methods such as history when contemporary events are being studied and a researcher is able to conduct interviews with the persons involved in the events and is able to conduct direct observations.

Yin (2003, 2013) states that guiding propositions are essential in case study research. Propositions help determine what should be studied within the scope of the case and what line of evidence needs to be gathered (Yin, 2014). The present study began with the following propositions:

- Community-based youth development organizations are facing institutional pressures to adopt a PYD philosophy and strategies
- Organizations facing primarily coercive and mimetic isomorphic pressures are more likely to implement PYD strategies in ceremonial ways
- Organizations facing primarily normative isomorphic pressures are more likely to implement PYD strategies in substantive ways
- Organizations are responding in different ways to institutional pressures to implement PYD strategies
- Organizations are grappling with competing logics: traditional and PYD logic

These propositions clarified the purpose of the research and guided data collection activities. Yin (2014) emphasizes the importance of defining the unit of analysis in case study research. The unit of analysis in this multiple case study looked at how community-based youth development organizations are incorporating PYD into their work. In other words, the purpose of this research was not to understand community-based youth development organizations in general. The study's aim was to gain a better understanding of what internal and external pressures are influencing the way in which community-based youth development organizations are responding to PYD.

Case study draws from multiple sources data (Stake, 2005). Padgett (2008) points out that regardless of the subject under study, case study research "draws on multiple perspectives and data sources to produce contextually rich and meaningful interpretation" (p. 33). Yin (2003a) states that the most important advantage to the use of multiple

sources of evidence is the development of "converging lines of inquiry." This leads to a process of triangulation of data by which the investigator can corroborate the same fact or phenomenon using different sources of evidence. Multiple sources of data, including interviews, document review and direct observations were gathered for each of the cases.

Prior to commencing data collection, this study was reviewed and approved by Boston University's Institutional Review Board (IRB). IRB approved all study protocols, including consent forms and assent forms before any interviews were scheduled. In addition to individual respondents granting consent before participating in the study, IRB required for the three organizations to submit a written letter stating their agreement to participate in the study. Given that data collection and analysis took place over a number of years, IRB renewal was obtained annually for the duration of the study.

This chapter is organized into five sections. The first part of this chapter lays out the case screening methods that were used to arrive at the three cases that were selected for this study. The next section provides a description and selection rationale for the three cases that comprise this study. This section is followed by a description of the data collection procedures. The last two sections of the chapter cover the data analysis procedures and address the study's limitations respectively.

Case Screening

Yin (2003a) warns that individual case studies should not be treated as sampling units; rather, case studies should be thought of as multiple experiments. Cases are selected to either predict similar or contrasting results for predictable reasons based on theory (Yin, 2003a). Based on the study's conceptual framework, it was assumed that an

organization's level of PYD integration would be closely tied to the type of institutional pressures pushing the organization to do so. Therefore, a maximum variation purposive sampling method (Merriam, 2009) was employed to identify three youth organizations with varying levels of PYD integration: emerging, medium and high. In addition to the PYD level criterion, the final three cases also needed to meet the definition of a community-based youth organization and have been in operation for at least 10 years at the time of the screening (founded on or before 2001). To arrive at the final three cases, a multiple-step screening process was conducted.

Sampling Frame

The first step in the screening process involved the creation of a sampling frame. To develop the sampling frame, Guidestar database was used to compile an initial list of youth development organizations located in the city where this study took place. Guidestar uses information nonprofit organizations submit annually in their 990 IRS forms to compile its electronic database. Access to this database was free of cost and was readily available via the Internet. Given the strength of the third-sector in the city, it was not surprising to find that the initial search generated a list of 82 organizations that self-identified in their 990 IRS form as youth development organizations utilizing the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entries codes. Upon reviewing this initial list, it was discovered that 14 organizations had their tax-exempt status revoked or were no longer in operation. This narrowed the sampling frame to 68 potential organizations.

In the next step of the screening process, the websites and 990 IRS forms of the 68 remaining organizations were reviewed in order to identify organizations that did not meet the community-based youth organization definition and age requirement (founded on or before 2001). The operational definition of a community-based youth organization looked at whether youth participation in the organization was voluntary and level of overall autonomy of the organization. In other words, organizations needed to have their own board of directors and function independently from a national organization (i.e. Boys and Girls Clubs) in order to remain in the sampling frame. The cut-off age of the organization was set somewhat arbitrarily. The guiding assumption was that organizations with at least 10 years of operation would be more established and, therefore, be stronger case studies. After applying these two criteria to the list of 68 organizations, a group of 15 potential organizations remained.

Key Informant Interviews

The next step in the screening process involved grouping the remaining 15 organizations by level of PYD integration. Interviews were conducted with key informants with knowledge of the local youth field and youth organizations to inform this step in the screening process. Expert interviews can provide a top-down perspective to a study that would otherwise be missed (Padgett, 2008). The primary purpose of the stakeholder interviews was to gather key informants' knowledge of the 15 organizations to more accurately categorize them by level of PYD. As part this screening step, in-person semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine key informants. The nine

key informants were selected based on their perceived knowledge of youth organizations in the city. Padgett (2008) warns that expert interviews can be the most difficult to conduct in a study due to scheduling issues and, at times, straight out refusal to participate. This was partly true for this study. Setting up interviews with key informants took longer than anticipated, but none refused to participate. The researcher's professional position as grantmaker in the city resulted in greater knowledge of and pragmatic access to the selected key informants.

The initial outreach to key informants was done electronically. The first electronic correspondence included a brief description of the study and purpose of the requested interview. Interviews were held at a place and time that was most convenient for the respondent. The nine key informants that participated in this part of the study included the following: one local funder, four representatives of intermediary organizations that work with youth programs, one non-profit consultant, one executive director of a youth development organization and a former youth worker. Interviews with key informants lasted anywhere from 45-60 minutes.

Key informant interviews began with a review of the study's aim and purpose of the interview. Formal consent to participate in the study was also obtained at this time. In the first part of the interview, respondents were asked to react to the pre-screening criteria that were developed to identify the three cases for the study (see Appendix E). In addition to the age and community-based youth organization criteria, the pre-screening tool used the six-Cs of PYD (Roth & Brooks Gunn, 2003; Lerner, 2004): *competence, confidence, connection, character, caring,* and *contribution* in order to get at an organization's

integration of PYD. Up to this point, this criterion had not been applied to narrow the sampling frame. The initial intent was to have key respondents use the six-Cs in order to group the organizations in the sampling frame by level of commitment to PYD. Key informants had no objection to the age and community-based youth organization criteria. This was not true for the commitment to PYD criterion. Eight out of nine key informants did not find the operational definitions of the six-Cs of PYD useful for conceptualizing varying levels of PYD commitment. Key informants stated that the six-Cs of PYD speak to youth outcomes and not organizational practices. The latter were seen as more helpful in determining an organization's level of commitment to PYD.

Moreover, based on the feedback from key respondents, the language used to refer to the different levels of PYD commitment from "low, medium and high" to "emerging, moderate and high" was changed. Respondents suggested replacing "low" with "emerging" and "medium" with "moderate." These new categories were seen as less judgmental and more positive for the organizations to be included in the study.

Given that the six-Cs of PYD were not useful, key informants were asked to group organizations based on what they perceived as *emerging*, *moderate* and *high* levels of PYD commitment. After respondents group the organizations by level of PYD, they were asked to share the criteria they utilized to make this determination. Organizations deemed as high level of PYD commitment were described as having the following characteristics: high program intentionality; attention to adolescent developmental stages; focus on transformation (individual and community); trained staff in PYD; PYD infused in all levels of the organization; youth-centered/youth culture; and youth voice/youth

leadership. Organizations with moderate PYD commitment were described as: being less intentional about PYD; having narrowly focused programs; and placing some focus on youth leadership. Organizations with emerging level of PYD commitment were described as having traditional youth programming (e.g., homework assistance, tutoring). The major difference between the six-Cs of PYD and the criteria that emerged from the key stakeholder interviews is that the former refers to youth outcomes rather than organizational practices (see Table 2). Key informants felt it was more appropriate to think of the characteristics of organizations when thinking about the varying levels of commitment to PYD.

Pre-Screening Case Criteria	Key Informants Criteria for Level of PYD
Organizations with greater commitment to PYD pursuing all or most of the six-Cs of PYD (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Lerner, 2004). • Competence • Confidence • Connection • Character • Caring • Contribution	*Emerging Level of PYD* • Traditional youth programming (e.g., tutoring, recreational activities, services) *Moderate Level of PYD* • Not as intentional about PYD • Narrowly focused program (e.g., arts or academics) • Some focus on youth leadership

	High Level of PYD • Program intentionality • Focus on developmental stages (i.e., meet youth stage of development) • Focus on transformation (e.g., social justice, community organizing, community change) • Trained staff (i.e., trained on principles of PYD) • PYD infused all levels of the organization • Youth centered/youth focused • Youth voice/youth leadership

Table 2. PYD Commitment Screening Criteria.

Final Sampling Frame

Based on the nine key-informant interviews, the sampling frame was narrowed from 15 to 7 organizations. The narrowing of the sampling frame was based on the frequency an organization was categorized by a stakeholder in the varying levels of PYD. This approach was not straightforward because there were times organizations were categorized under two levels of PYD. For instance, the same stakeholder might place an organization in both the high and moderate levels of PYD. As Table 3 shows, three

organizations fell in the high level of PYD commitment, three organizations in the moderate level of PYD commitment and three in the emerging level of PYD commitment. It is important to note that two of the organizations appeared in two different levels of PYD commitment. Both organizations were ultimately selected to be part of the study.

Organization	Level of PYD	Age	Community-Based Youth Organization
A	High	1968	X
B	High	1991	X
C	High/Moderate	1991	X
D	Moderate/Emerging	1973	X
E	Moderate	1993	X
F	Emerging	1991	X
G	Emerging	1999	X

Table 3. Case Screening: List of Organizations by Level of PYD Commitment.

Sample

The organizations included in the final sample met the screening criteria described above, including the three varying levels of PYD commitment: emerging, moderate and high. The final selection also took into account the researcher's level of accessibility to the organization and any conflict of interest.

High Level of PYD

Two organizations were consistently categorized as demonstrating a high level of PYD commitment. Seven out of nine key informants placed the organizations in this

category. For the final sample, organization A was selected over B for two reasons. First, at the time of the data collection, the researcher was serving on the board of organization B. Moreover, the foundation where the researcher was working at the time was actively funding organization B. Given that the researcher had accessibility to both organizations, organization A was selected for inclusion because it presented less conflict of interest for the researcher.

Moderate Level of PYD

In the moderate level of PYD, organization E was omitted due to knowledge obtained through key informant interviews (and other sources) of the organization's financial instability and uncertain future. Due to the researcher's accessibility to the organization, organization C was selected over D. At the time of data collection, the researcher was living in the neighborhood where organization C is located. Additionally, the researcher had a past funding relationship with the organization. Moreover, organization C was referred to as moderate by at least three key informants. One key informant placed organization C in both the high and emerging levels of PYD.

Emerging Level of PYD

In the selection of the final case, accessibility to the organizations was taken into account. The researcher had limited access to organizations F and G. Additionally, key informant interviews revealed that organization F was running an alternative school program, which meant that a number of youth were not attending voluntarily as previously thought. Therefore, organization F was taken out of consideration. This left

organization G and D; given that the researcher had limited access to organization G, organization D was selected as the third and final case for the study. In considering the final selection it became evident that there was an opportunity to study organizations in three distinct neighborhoods if organization D was selected over G. Organization G is less bounded geographically because it serves the entire city rather than a specific neighborhood.

While it was not a pre-selection criterion, the final three cases not only included geographic diversity but also included two organizations that serve ethnic and racially specific groups. Organization A serves primarily Latino and Black youth and organization D serves primarily Asian youth. While organization C is not an ethnic-specific, it is located in an area where there is a significant population of Latino immigrants.

From this point forward, organization A will be referred to as Case 1, organization C as Case 2 and organization D as Case 3.

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
Age (founded on or before 2001)	X	X	X
Community-based youth development organization	X	X	X
High PYD Level	X		
Moderate PYD Level		X	
Emerging Level of PYD			X
Neighborhood 1	X		

Neighborhood 2		X	
Neighborhood 3			X

Table 4. Final Case Selection: Multiple Variation Purposive Sampling.

Data Collection Procedures

Gaining Initial Entry

Before data collection could commence for this study, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) required the three organizations in the final sample to provide a written letter stating their agreement to participate in the study. In order to obtain these letters, all three executive directors were contacted electronically. This initial correspondence included a description of the research study, an explanation of how the organization was selected for participation and a request to participate in the study. Due to the researcher's professional position in the city and personal involvement in the Latino community, the researcher already knew the executive director of each organization. Therefore, initial access to the executive directors was not a problem. Case 1 and Case 2 readily agreed to participate, whereas Case 3 asked a number of questions (i.e., time commitment, who would need to be interviewed, etc.) before agreeing to participate.

Once organizations agreed to participate by way of a written letter, *quiet* entry (Stake, 1995) into each organization began. This included the familiarization with the people at each case, the space and schedule of the organization before launching into the structured data collection phase. The researcher attended one staff meeting for each of the organizations. The purpose of attending the meeting was to meet staff, provide background on the study and explain what participation in the study entailed. This gave

staff an opportunity to ask questions about the study prior to being interviewed. In this meeting, the researcher acknowledged the burden the organization might endure during the research process (Stake, 1995). As suggested by Padgett (2008), staff was also informed that as part of the research activities the researcher would be conducting observations, recording field notes, reviewing documents and interviewing staff, youth, board members and funders.

Approach to Data Collection

The initial research plan proposed conducting data collection for each of the three cases independently from one another. In other words, data would be collected for Case 1 before proceeding to Case 2. This seemed like an appropriate approach; however, once consent from the three organizations was obtained, it became clear that traction would be lost at each case as time elapsed between the time when consent was obtained and the commencement of data collection. Therefore, data collection was conducted simultaneously for all three cases. This proved to be a good decision given that data collection at each organization took substantially longer than originally anticipated. In the initial plan data collection was projected to last between 6-8 weeks at each site. Data collection took longer than anticipated, 15 months versus the planned 4-6 months.

A couple of factors contributed to the expanded period of data collection. One of the biggest challenges in the data collection phase of the study was competing for attention at each of the sites. While organizations were willing participants, each was managing multiple demands and this research study was not always at the top of their list

of priorities. The other factor not take into account at the beginning of the study was the programming schedule for each organization. Data collection started in May of 2012. While the initial interviews were easy to schedule, data collection came to a halt when organizations took a brief break in June before the start of summer programming. This came up several other times during the 15 months of data collection. Programming at each of the organizations periodically stopped to make way for a new season, holidays and other temporal factors that affect scheduling in youth-serving organizations. Staff-related issues also affected the length of time it took to collect data at two of the three organizations. Case 1 had a staff person on personal-leave for a couple of months. As one of two program directors at the organization, this person's perspective was deemed important to the case. In Case 2, a new program director had recently been hired when data collection started at the organization. Therefore, a couple of months elapsed before an interview was scheduled with this staff member.

Multiple Sources of Data

As previously stated, case studies rely on multiple sources of data. For this study, in-person semi-structured interviews were conducted with organization staff, board members, youth and funders. In addition, relevant written documents were reviewed and, when possible, program observations were completed.

In total, 33 in-person semi-structured interviews were conducted for this study. Twelve interviews were conduced for Case 1 and nine interviews for Cases 2 and 3. At each organization, the executive director and relevant staff, including program and

development staff when available, were interviewed. In addition, interviews were conducted with youth participants and board members. Once data collection commenced, it became clear that the three organizations shared many of the same funders; therefore, funder interviews (3) were conducted at the end of the data collection process. On average, interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes with the exception of interviews with the executive directors. Two of the executive directors were also founders of the organizations, which meant that they had a lot more historical context to share for their respective organization. These interviews, therefore, lasted over an hour each. Formal consent was obtained at the start of each interview. In total, six youth interviews were conducted. Five of the youth were 18 years of age or older, so no parental consent was needed. For the remaining youth respondent, parental consent was obtained prior to the start of the interview. After obtaining parental consent, this young person completed the study's assent form. One of the youth interviewed for Case 2 was actually a past program participant and not a present participant as originally intended. Given that this young person was working at the organization at the time of the interview and had a lengthy involvement with the organization, the decision was made to include his perspective in the study. All interviews were recorded and later transcribed for analysis. Unfortunately, due to operator error, approximately 15 minutes of a youth interview was lost. After this occurrence, precautions were taken and no other data was lost.

In addition to in-person semi-structured interviews, organizations were asked to share a number of written documents. Documents provide historical background and context (i.e., economic, political and legal) that are important to case research (Stake,

2005). Organizations were asked to provide the following documents: strategic plans (last two or three); 2-3 grant proposals and grant reports; annual reports, when available; current organizational chart; staff job descriptions; agendas and minutes for the past 3-4 staff meetings; newsletters (2-3 months); staff resumes, when available; and program descriptions (brochures, outreach and recruitment documents, etc.). Case Study 1 provided these documents in a Zip File, which made it easier to get copies of the documents electronically. The other two cases did not have the capacity to easily convert the documents in Zip File format, so each received a USB flash drive with enough memory capacity to hold the requested files.

After interviews were completed at each of the sites, visits (approximately 2 hours) for the purpose of observing programming were scheduled. Stake (1995) states that observations help researchers gain greater understanding of the case. The issues being studied guide these observations. "During observations, the qualitative case study researcher keeps a good record of events to provide relatively *incontestable description* for further analysis and ultimate recording" (Stake, 1995, p. 62). During the observations, close attention was paid to physical surroundings looking closely at things such as bulletin boards, murals, photographs, and other visual displays at each of the organizations. Shortly after each observation field notes were recorded to capture observations and overall impressions (Stake, 1995).

For two of the organizations setting up the visits was relatively straightforward. As mentioned earlier, the biggest challenge was finding the right time to observe programming given program interruptions due to summer and school vacation. One of

the organizations, despite several attempts, refused participation in program observations. When probed for reasons why the organization was not open to observations, it was shared that youth were not comfortable with outsiders observing their programs. At that point, the researcher offered to come in and conduct a workshop on a topic of the organization's choice to help youth meet the researcher in a different context. The executive director reiterated that the youth were not comfortable and, therefore, she could not allow program observations to take place. At this point, the researcher learned the organization was having a community event and asked if she could attend. The executive director responded that the event was only for families and not the extended community. Program observations, therefore, were conducted for only Cases 1 and Case 2.

Data Analysis

In accordance with IRB requirements, all study documents (e.g., interview recordings, transcripts) were given a unique study identification number. Hardcopies of the study's data, including interview recordings, transcripts and interview and observation notes were stored in a locked file cabinet. All electronic data was stored in the researcher's personal password protected computer. USB flash drives containing electronic backups of all the study's data were also stored in a locked file cabinet. Individuals are not identified in reports and analysis for this study. Findings are written in aggregate form to protect the identity of all of the study participants.

The Principal Investigator for this study was responsible for collecting and transcribing all interviews. After the majority of the interviews were transcribed, the USB flash drive that contained the electronic transcriptions malfunctioned and all files were

lost. Despite efforts to recover these electronic files, the transcriptions were not recovered. Other research documents in the flash drive, including observation memos and IRB approval documents were recovered. Unfortunately, other memos that had been compiled during the course of data collection were permanently damaged. Fortunately, audio recordings of the 33 interviews were saved in different USB flash drives. The lost files were recreated over a fourth month period.

Multiple case study research requires two stages of analysis – within-case and cross-case analysis (Merriam, 2009, Stake, 2006 and Padgett 2008). Due to reasons already mentioned, data collection was done concurrently in order to maintain interest from the three organizations. Analysis, however, followed the two-stage analysis approach for case study research. The initial stage of analysis, within-case analysis, required for the data from each case study to be analyzed independently from other cases. Each case is regarded as comprehensive in and of itself (Merriam, 2009). Originally, the researcher intended to conduct analysis of transcriptions and documents manually. To make the analysis process more efficient, HyperResearch 3.52 was obtained in order to conduct the analysis electronically. This software helps with the analysis of qualitative data. HyperResearch helps with coding of data and theory building by providing an interface that allows researchers to code, organize and analyze data electronically. This software does not do the analysis for the researcher, but provides a more efficient way of analyzing qualitative data.

Analysis began with the loading the 33 transcribed interviews and other written documents into the qualitative analysis software HyperResearch to assist with the

organization and analysis of the data. Interviews were grouped using the "case" feature in HyperResearch, which is a method for organizing data by the unit of analysis that is most appropriate for the study. In this study, three "cases" were set up to represent the three organizations included in this research.

Once the data was uploaded to the qualitative analysis software, the analysis process began using open coding, which uses sensitizing concepts based on the study's conceptual framework to begin the coding process. In addition, new themes emerging directly from the data were captured and coded accordingly. After completing the open coding process, analytic coding was done to group open codes into categories. These categories were informed by the study's conceptual framework. This level of analysis moves beyond descriptive coding to the interpretation and meaning of data (Merriam, 2009). Findings from this first stage of analysis were written up separately for each case in order to inform the second stage of analysis.

After completing the first stage of analysis for each of the three cases, the next phase of analysis was undertaken. This step moved from within case analysis to cross-case analysis. This stage of analysis began with multiple readings of the individual case study reports. This involved systematic note taking on the three case study site reports. During this process, the study's research questions or what Stake (2006) calls the "themes" of the multiple case study were kept at the forefront. After completing the multiple readings of the three case study site reports, the study's conceptual framework was applied to organize themes across the three cases. In order to complete the cross-case analysis the following steps were followed. First, each case was analyzed for prominence

of the multi-case study themes and the utility of the data in developing these themes. During this stage, key findings for each case were identified and the uniqueness and similarities of each case were noted. Second, the utility of each case was assessed to develop the multiple case study themes. In the third step, the findings from all three cases were merged across cases using the study's conceptual framework. At this point, single findings were noted and used to develop rival explanations. In the final step of the cross-case analysis, cross-case assertions were developed.

Trustworthiness and Study Limitations

The credibility of qualitative research depends on the integrity of the researcher (Patton, 2002). Throughout all the phases of this research, including data collection, analysis, and reporting, the researcher made every attempt to be forthcoming about the biases, assumptions and positions she brought to the research. The researcher's professional position resulted in certain advantages. For instance, the researcher had preexisting relationships with all three organizations and executive directors that made entry into the organization easier. It took a lot less time to establish trust and legitimacy during the initial outreach to the organizations. The researcher was cognizant that organizations might feel obliged to participate due to the researcher's role as a local funder. To address this concern the researcher assured the organizations that participation was voluntary and the decision to participate would not negatively or favorably affect any future funding relationship. Despite this assurance, it is not possible to ascertain whether or not organizations considered the researcher's professional position in their final

decision to partake in the study. Related, the researcher's professional position may have limited the information respondents were willing to reveal during interviews.

Moreover, as a local funder in the city, the researcher knew of many of the organizations in the original sampling frame and held preconceived notions of them. Therefore, stakeholder interviews were important to mitigate the researcher's biases and initial beliefs. For instance, the researcher was not surprised by the two organizations that were named as having the highest level of PYD. Nonetheless, it was important to incorporate the perspective of key stakeholders in the final selection of all three organizations. While a multi-step process for selecting the three cases was employed, the three community-based organizations that were included in the study may not be the best representation of organizations with varying levels of PYD. The three cases may represent the organizations that are well known in the city for one reason or another.

Particular attention was given to issues of reliability, which look at the extent to which research findings can be replicated. Merriam (2009) states, "The most important question for qualitative research is *whether the results are consistent with the data collected*" (p. 221). As suggested by Yin (2003a), a case study database was set up to clearly document data collection procedures and organizing the data collected from all three cases. Initially the database was in a flash drive and backed in a password-protected personal computer. After recovering the data that was lost in the malfunctioning flash drive, the database was recreated and stored in a password-protected Dropbox account in order to prevent future loss of data. In addition to setting up a database, throughout the data collection activities and analysis memos were kept to capture how decisions were

made throughout the course of the study. In the writing of the individual case study reports, thick descriptions were used to address issues of transferability. Merriam (2009) points that it is the burden of the researcher to provide enough information so that the reader can transfer findings to another context.

To address issues of validity the study relied on multiple sources of data (Padgett, 2008). At each of the organizations, executive directors, adult staff, board members, youth and funders were interviewed in order to obtain multiple perspectives. In addition, a number of written documents were reviewed for each organization. As previously mentioned, every attempt was made to complete visits at each of the organizations once in-person interviews were done in order to observe programming. Multiple sources of data made it possible to employ a triangulation strategy in the analysis. Data triangulation refers to the use of multiple sources of data to corroborate or confirm findings (Padgett, 2008).

This study has a number of limitations. Despite efforts to address biases and preconceptions, these were present in all activities related to this study, including data collection, analysis and reporting. The researcher's professional position also influenced my research. As mentioned earlier, the researcher had established rapport with the three organizations that were selected to be part of the study because she had worked with them in one capacity or another. While this facilitated entry into the organizations, issues of trust came up with one organization in particular. As stated above, in the end, program observations were not completed for Case 3. It became clear that while the researcher had access and rapport with this organization, there was limited trust. Despite several

attempts to build trust, particularly with the youth in the program, observations were not granted. The executive director prevented this from happening. Throughout the data collection period, this executive director was also very involved in the scheduling of all interviews. Whereas for the other two cases, the researcher reached out to adult staff and board members directly to set up interviews. Youth interviews were always scheduled with the help of staff at the other two organizations. For Case 3, however, the executive director arranged all the interviews. This experience was not surprising or unexpected in this type of research. As the literature well documents, issues of trust in research, particularly in communities of color are not unfounded (Sullivan et al., 2001). Case 3 serves Asian youth and is led by mostly Asian adult staff and board members. While the researcher is a woman of color (insider to some extent), the researcher had to contend with the fact that she is not Asian and, as a grantmaker, was probably seen as having a powerful role in the community. If more time could have been spent building trust, some of these concerns may have lessened. The researcher could have spent more time with staff and the executive director to try to better understand the source of mistrust and work on building trust over time.

CHAPTER 4: CASE 1 RESULTS

Introduction

Case 1 was selected for inclusion in this study based on its perceived level of PYD integration. Repeatedly, stakeholders referred to Case 1 as having a high level of PYD integration. This chapter presents the results for Case 1. The first part of the chapter provides the context for the organization, including a brief history, mission, target population, budget and background on the board and staff. The remainder of the chapter is organized using this study's conceptual framework. The section entitled "Positive Youth Development Integration" looks at the extent to which PYD is part of the organization's philosophy and how the organization is implementing PYD elements across the organization. The next section entitled "Pressures to Adopt PYD" looks at how normative, coercive and mimetic pressures are influencing the organization's adaption of PYD principles. This section also discusses a number of other factors that seem to be influencing Case 1's actions, specifically as they relate to the organization's formal and informal adaptation of PYD.

Context

History

Located in an urban northeastern city of the United States, Case 1 was founded in 1968. Since its inception, Case 1 has been committed to serving the needs of the Latino community. One of the oldest Latino agencies in the city, the organization started as a social club by sponsoring a number of social activities mainly for Puerto Rican adults and

families. Club-sponsored activities included baseball leagues and domino tournaments. In the early 1980s, the organization was officially incorporated. Over time, the organization began responding to youth-specific needs by offering basic programming such as homework help and tutoring. About 10 years after being founded, Case 1 relocated from a predominantly white neighborhood of the city, to a more racially diverse neighborhood. It is not clear if the organization made the decision to focus exclusively on youth before or after the move to the new neighborhood, but around the same time, it made a shift from serving adults, families and youth to serving only Latino youth.

The organization weathered several challenges in the span of approximately 15 years. From the mid-1980s and late-1990s, the organization used a youth peer leadership model to deliver health and prevention education. The organization's funding at that time came mostly from public sources. In the early 1990s, Case 1 experienced fiscal challenges and, at one point, ended up losing its nonprofit status. The organization's reputation in the community also suffered. Recalling the history of the organization, one respondent states, " We lost the community's respect. Both Latino and Anglo. They didn't see us… our reputation was really bad." Under new leadership, the organization eventually recovered, regaining its nonprofit designation and securing public contracts to continue its work with Latino youth. Case 1's reputation in the community, however, remained tentative until the late 1990s, when the current executive director came on board.

Under the current executive director's leadership, the organization has tried to be more responsive to community needs. Case 1 has used strategic planning processes to

achieve this goal. Among the changes that have surfaced through these processes have been shifts in the organization's target population and areas of focus. From the late-1990s through 2007, Case 1's target population expanded to include elementary school-age children and parents. The organization added summer programming for younger children and began engaging parents in grassroots organizing, mainly around education issues. Programming for older youth continued to focus on health education, prevention and peer leadership until the organization completed its most recent strategic plan in 2007. After completing the latest round of strategic planning activities, Case 1 broadened its focus to include civic engagement, academic support, workforce development and the arts. The four areas of focus are set up to address what Case 1 has identified as the main challenges facing Latino youth: a) Latino youth trail behind in school; b) Latino youth are increasingly underemployed and unemployed; c) Latino youth are the least civically engaged youth compared to their peers; and d) Latino youth struggle to keep their cultural identify. Reflecting on how the organization has changed through the years, one respondent stated:

> I feel like it has changed a lot. I think we have expanded beyond health education. So we moved into civic engagement and that was again from the youth. The youth actually wanted us to go in that direction. We added the academic support piece very intensively and the arts piece. That was also huge that came out of the strategic plans…

This same respondent further stated, "So, we have done a lot of work, so I feel that now we are much more embedded in the community and people respect the work that we do

and they understand it. It was very insular before and we really did…. we focused a lot on health education, which we still do." In addition to broadening its focus areas, in the last strategic planning process Case 1 revisited its target population. For a number of years, the organization had been serving a more racially and ethnically diverse group of youth. This eventually tipped the organization away from its historical focus on Latino youth. At the conclusion of the 2007 strategic plan, Case 1 recommitted itself to serving primarily Latino youth and youth from the neighborhood where the organization operates.

Mission, Target Population and Budget Size

Mission. In 2007, after completing the latest strategic planning process the organization made a pivotal shift. Out of this process emerged a new theory of change and a business plan that set the course for the organization from 2007 to the present. It was during this time that Case 1 made an intentional and explicit commitment to positive youth development. In order to maintain the anonymity of the organization, the exact mission statement is not provided. In summary, the organization's current mission is to support Latino youth to become confident, competent, successful and self-sustaining adults that contribute to their community.

Target Population. Case 1's target population has varied over the years. The organization began by serving mainly adults. Over the years it added youth, elementary-age children and parents to its target population. In its latest strategic plan, Case 1 reexamined its target population after reflecting on changes that had transpired over the

years. At some point the organization had started to serve a more diverse group of youth. Commenting on this one respondent stated:

> Before we even did our theory of change work, there was one year where we had all... I hired the first non-Latino youth here... I was pushing. We can share who we are with others. It doesn't have to be only Latino youth. But we got to a point where we were predominantly African American youth or Black youth who were Cape Verdean, Haitian, whatever… So, I think at some point we had to... we were like wait a second. And I think that really pushed us to be are we a Latino organization or not?

After reflecting on this question of identity, in its most recent plan Case 1 explicitly states that it is a Latino-focused community-based organization. To maintain this focus, the organization has set specific targets to ensure that at a minimum 60% of its participants self-identify as Latino and 50% live or go to school in the neighborhood where the organization is located. The organization also describes its population as "low-income, out-of-school youth, and youth with no or limited work experience." In its business plan, the organization describes the organization's participants in the following way:

> [B]right, ready to learn and above all, resilient in the face of many challenging personal and family circumstances... With encouragement and support, they participate in activities and improve their academic performance, develop skills, share their opinions, and build relationships with adults and peers… As their comfort and confidence grows, participants explore new interests and reveal new talents.

While the organization recognizes the needs faced by its target population, as seen in the description above, the organization also acknowledges the strengths of its participants.

Through its core programs, Case 1 engages approximately 300 youth annually. Participants reflect the changing demographics of both the city and the neighborhood where the organization is located. According to the 2010 Census, the neighborhood where Case 1 is located is 23% Latino. The largest Latino groups in the neighborhood are Puerto Rican (11.1%) and Dominican (6.5%). While a majority of youth participants are Puerto Rican, in recent years, a growing number of Dominican youth have joined the organization. At the time of data collection, 61% of the youth being served were Latino, 23% African American, 14% multi-racial, and 2% White or Asian. Of the Latino youth, 49% were Puerto Rican, 38% Dominican, 7% south American, 3% Central American, and 3% Caribbean. About 60% of the youth served were either immigrants or first generation born in the U.S.

Budget Size. Case 1 has grown steadily since the late 1990s. Under the leadership of the current executive director, the organization more than quadrupled its budget. At the time of data collection, the organization's annual budget stood at $1.7 million.

Board

At the time of data collection, the organization had nine board members with varying backgrounds. Among them were community residents, individuals with experience in youth development, arts and nonprofit administration and one past youth participant. The organization's board chair had served on the board for over 10 years. This member grew up in the neighborhood and was described by one respondent as a

"fantastic supporter of the organization." The majority of the board was Latino (60% Latino, 30% White and 10% African American).

The organization prides itself in having a small group of committed board members. Reflecting on the membership of the board, one respondent stated:

> So it's a small board. We don't want to be huge and we had many people tell us that we needed to have this board that was all this money people and connected people. And we had that conversation several times, but think the board agrees that they are not interested in that. We want the combination of the community... the Latino community and people who are really interested in the development of youth and worker bees rather than just I am going to pull you in because you have money, but you are not going to be as invested. I mean if somebody comes along that is really invested and they have all these connections then that's great.

One board member reiterated that passion and commitment to the work was important when thinking about potential new board members for the organization. This respondent stated:

> I want to know that you're just... you're going to be so into this work. That this is what moves you. That you're going to want to not just come to board meetings. You're going to want to come to events. You're going to want to come to hang out at the after school program and talk to the kids. You're going to want to talk to the staff. So for me, that passion has to definitely be number one. And then secondly, I do want... what can you bring? What skills do you have to offer? And but, yeah, the skills and what they bring to me is secondary to having someone that is really

passionate about this.

As exemplified above, passion for the organization's work was seen as critical for board membership. Both board members interviewed for this study had extensive experience in youth work. In addition, they could relate to Case 1's youth on a personal level. They are both Latino and grew up in the surrounding area. One respondent explained the motivation for joining the board in the following way, "So, I definitely knew that I wanted to be engaged with a Latino-based organization. Being one of... there's not many male Latinos that are out there doing what we're doing. I don't fall in that negative stereotype, per say." For this respondent, joining Case 1's board was an opportunity to serve as a role model for Latino youth, particularly males.

Staff

To advance its mission, Case 1 prioritizes hiring staff with experience in youth development. All eight of the staff interviewed for this study had experience in youth development. Three of the eight staff had teaching degrees, but left the profession because they wanted to be in settings where they could work with youth in different ways. One respondent explained this decision as follows:

> I just saw by the time I was looking at my professional career in teaching that I loved most when I was in more in the nonprofit setting and doing a lot more project based and a more holistic approach to youth development. And so although history, especially the Latino and African American history is very dear and my huge passion... talking about it every single day with students wasn't necessarily what they

> needed every day. And so I wanted to have that conversation and of course that made me feel really great when they'd walk away and be like that was something great that I learned. But it was talking more about what's going on with your family? What are your plans, next steps? Do you have a job? What's your leadership development? So, I knew that I wanted the opportunity to do more than just one very [inaudible] kind of thing and the space to do that. Because I know in schools that's not really the space.

Another staff person explained the reason for leaving teaching as follows:

> And I love working with young people, especially with the high schoolers, but there was something about being in that in-school environment and being so restricted to, you know, the English curriculum that it just wasn't… I wasn't loving it like I wanted to.

Both respondents found the school environment too restrictive. Alternatively, a setting like Case 1 seems to provide more flexibility and the opportunity to influence young people in a different way.

In discussing the qualities of current and prospective staff at the organization, there seemed to be agreement around two characteristics. Board members and staff named *passion* and *commitment* as being important for the organization. Passion for working with youth, specifically Latino youth, and families was a reoccurring theme. In describing the organization, one respondent talked about there being a lot of passion in the organization. This respondent stated, "But there is a lot of passion about working with English language learners. There's a lot of passion about working with immigrant youth." Senior staff named passion as one of the main things they screen for when hiring new

staff. One respondent acknowledged putting passion over experience when hiring new staff and stated:

> I air on the side of passion because I feel that's something you can't teach. You can't teach passion to an individual. How do I teach passion to an individual? How do I teach you passion about young Latino males and the dropout rate… Because either you have it or you don't.

This same respondent pointed to a current staff member that lacks experience and networks in the community, but brings passion to the work with youth and families. In discussing this staff member the respondent stated, "But [staff member] has the young people. The relationships with them as well as with the families. The rest will come." Another respondent described an ideal candidate as, "somebody who is passionate about working in an environment that is dedicated to working with Latino youth and families, so you have to know that when you come in."

In addition to passion, respondents stated that it was important for current and prospective staff to demonstrate a commitment to youth, positive youth development and the Latino community. In discussing a commitment to positive youth development, a respondent stated:

> And I think in believing in youth development and not just service-based and saying that you are going to challenge our youth. You are going to treat them as partners and ask them to learn and learn from them. And have them be leaders. And get them to a point where they should be self-sufficient, but really caring about them first. And looking at them asset-based and not deficit approach.

Another respondent alluded to a commitment to positive youth development when describing someone who would not be a good fit for the organization. This respondent stated, “If you have the mentality of poor brown kid, no.” In other words, someone with a deficit orientation to youth would not be considered a good fit for the organization. This same respondent went on to explain how the organization makes no excuses for youth, but instead helps them achieve their highest potential.

A commitment to the Latino community was also seen as important for the organization. One respondent stated, “And definitely making sure they understand we are a Latino organization and their role is to support that and embrace that.” Another respondent indicated that successful candidates needed to demonstrate a commitment to working in the Latino community and not simply speak Spanish. “And then to me it’s like have they shown previously, not only are they comfortable working in a Latino organization, have they previously worked in Latino communities and show that trajectory and interest.” While being bilingual was considered a plus for the organization, it was not a requirement. However, it is expected that anyone working there will be comfortable with Spanish being spoken at the organization. Greater emphasis was placed on the commitment to working with Latino youth and families as seen by the following quote: “We do have a target population and so if the Latino experience and the Latino family really isn’t important to you, then this is not the space for you.”

Although Case 1 values training, there is no institutionalized training process for staff. One respondent explained that onboarding and training of new staff varies,

depending on the number of staff starting at any given point. This respondent explained that it is easier to train a single hire than multiple ones:

> [L]ike I said, if they're the only ones at that point, it's very easy. I step in and I run program for a week. They're there to you know, observe. Then there's the okay now you. The second week, show me your plans. And then we co-facilitate. You start transitioning them that way. If you are starting at the same time with three or four, it's kind of like do what you know and I'll be in there to observe programs. It's sad, but sometimes it is very much on the job training.

A couple of respondents referenced the area's well-known youth worker training and pointed out that it does not adequately meet Case 1's training needs. The training was seen as too basic and missing critical aspects the organization considers important in youth development. The same respondent as above stated, "We have had mixed results sending them to like the Youth Worker Intensive from like [name of organization sponsoring training]. It's not our philosophy and it's not how we do our youth work. And then there's the cultural piece that's always missing." According to respondents, the training omits the role of family and culture as protective factors in the lives of young people. Referring to the same training another respondent stated, "That's fine, but it's not for us." From this respondent's point of view a better fit for the organization would be tailored training that included program observations and coaching for the staff.

Positive Youth Development Integration

Philosophy

Values and Beliefs. Although a set of core values and beliefs guides the work of Case 1, the organization is not explicit about its values. In Case 1's business plan the following statement appears, "The strong Latino values of family, mutual aid and collectiveness of the Latino culture is part of [name of the organization] organizational culture and approach in working with Latino families." Latino culture and values influence the work of the organization. One respondent alluded to this as a "feeling" in the organization. This respondent stated:

> So, you won't really read much about that. I think our, like who we are in terms of when you walk in terms of language. You are not going to read about… we are speaking Spanish. We are dancing… all of those stereotypical things. But you won't read about that feel. But there is a lot of passion about working with English language learners. There's a lot of passion about working with immigrant youth. And those are things that you can't really capture. And it's not a program, but it's a feeling.

Case 1strongly believes that preservation of culture can serve as protective factor against negative outcomes for Latino youth. In its business plan, the organization states, "keeping the connection to their Latino cultural roots is important for Latino youth success." Therefore, much of Case 1's work is dedicated to ensuring that youth learn about and retain their Latino heritage. In a grant proposal the organization writes:

> [Name of organization] invests a great deal of organizational time and resources to design programs, events and an organizational culture that helps youth develop positive cultural identities. Our intent is to help Latino youth to develop a strong sense of cultural pride that will serve as a protective factor, guiding positive decisions and enabling them to overcome multiple barriers to success. [Name of organization] has developed a culturally appropriate model that promotes positive youth development for Latino youth by addressing risk and protective factors that are embedded into Latino culture. With an asset-based approach, staff work with youth to enhance protective factors such as the Latino focus on family and community, while introducing intervention and prevention strategies that address risk factors such as gender stereotypes in the Latino community that can lead to teen pregnancy or youth violence.

During visits to the organization, I noticed signs throughout in English and Spanish. At the time of data collection, the organization was also displaying art by Brooklyn-based Mexican artist Dulce Pizon. The art collection entitled "The Real Stories of the Superheroes" pays homage to Mexican immigrant workers in the United States. As part of this exhibit, youth had spent time reflecting and discussing how the images relate to the Latino experience in the U.S.

In addition to believing that the preservation of the Latino culture is important in its work with youth, Case 1 believes that the needs of Latino youth should be met in a holistic manner. The organization recognizes that youth are navigating multiple systems in their lives, including school and family. Case 1, therefore, believes that it is important

to incorporate all aspects of young people's lives into its work. One respondent elaborated on this point as follows:

> So understanding that they're here for so many hours, but we can't ignore everything else that is happening in their lives. So, its' definitely looking again a more holistic approach at everything that is happening with them and it isn't just you know... event if the only contact with the school is in exactly [inaudible] all of them. We can have a good relationship with their teachers and get their homework assignments and keeping track of their grades, but if they are going home and the environment is completely different and it's not something that mom has any idea that's happening, she can't support us. She definitely has the right to know and figure out how she can be the real deciding factor and can be a partner in that. And she is the best expert, she knows her child best. So, we need to have mom at the table. So, I think that's another piece that I like. It's that we are realizing it's not easy work, we could always work in family engagement, but we realize that is something we really value. And so we are always telling ourselves how can we do that better. These children don't live in a vacuum. There are definitely other pieces in their lives that are so much bigger than us.

While not explicitly stated, another guiding value for the organization is family. In recent years, the organization has become more deliberate about its work with families to ensure that they are better integrated into Case 1's youth development model.

Another important belief in the organization is that success can take many forms for young people. Respondents described success as more than a young person's

academic performance. Case 1 values education, but understands that not all youth will follow the same path towards self-sufficiency. One respondent talked about two participants and pointed out that the organization sees them as equally successful. This respondent stated:

> So I have [name of youth] who is doing well. Then I have [name of youth] who could give a shit about college. Excuse the word. [Name of youth] won't go. He tells you. But [name of youth] will be successful in whatever he focuses on because he is always on time, is an excellent public speaker, he's a charmer. He has a business plan… he's going to start his own business. And to me that's another example of success.

Staff also talked about the importance of meeting youth where they are at and respecting youth's choices in defining their path to success.

Lastly, embedded in the organization's work are the values of social justice and civic and community engagement. Since its inception, Case 1 has been working to improve the lives of Latinos in the city. The organization sees youth as central in this work. Youth are expected to actively contribute to the betterment of their community. On this point, one respondent stated, "so I think I look at youth development as where does someone get to learn about themselves and the world around them and continue to grow and contribute back in whatever shape makes sense for them." Another respondent discussed two major goals for the organization. In addition to helping youth graduate high school, this respondent talked about the importance of young people contributing back to their community. This respondent stated, "And then to be a nice person and to be

in your community and to participate. And when you see things that are not right, to be able to voice that and work on that." In Case 1's business plan, the organization expands on this point stating, "Civic engagement, including voting, is vitally important to ensure that youth become successful and self-sufficient adults."

Approach to Working with Youth. Case 1's business plan describes the organization's work as an "integrated approach" to addressing the significant needs of Latino youth. In its approach to working with youth, Case 1 focuses on four areas: education, workforce development, civic engagement and Latino culture exploration. The organization believes it is important to address all four areas in order support the success of youth, especially Latino youth. In the organization's business plan, Case 1 states, "Focusing on just one area, such as education, leaves Latino youth still struggling in other areas such as securing employment or the growing stigmatization against them and their culture."

Moreover, the organization approaches its work from a holistic and long-term perspective. Case 1 works with youth in the context of family, school and community. One respondent described the organization's approach as follows:

> You watch them through their development and growth. You learn about every intimate detail of them and their life, and their schooling and their aspirations. And that's what we want to be to them. And not just be, you know, they come in for the after school program and you know, if you are around next year, we'll see you next year. You know, it's you're in our after school program. Let's keep you into our summer program. Let's reel you into our music program. Let's get your

> sibling involved in something. So, there is again, we are trying to reach every aspect of that young person. And they're at the center, but we are still trying to have these tentacles and reach a parent somehow. And reach your siblings somehow. And we've been quite successful at having siblings. And you know, sibling after sibling and families that have come through the program. We've seen how much more beneficial that is to them then sort of the one offs.

Youth are expected to join the organization in middle school and stay connected to the organization through the first years in college. One of the young people interviewed for this study had started at the organization as a middle school student and, at the time of the interview, was about to graduate high school. Describing this extended relationship with the organization, this young person stated, "so they've [Case 1 staff] become a family and ever since I was in middle school, they've always cause not only have they helped me with like you know my academics, but they're also like a family. Any problems, anything you know I talk to them, they know my mom, now they know my little brothers." Reflected in this statement is also the deep commitment the organization makes to its participants. The organization builds strong relationships with youth and their families.

In addition to a holistic and long-term approach, Case 1 acknowledges that youth will not follow the same path into adulthood. In a grant report the organization stated:

> Inherent in our model is the acknowledgement that we must meet youth where they are and guide them along a path to self-sufficiency. As college is not the best options for every youth we serve, we also offer youth pathways to successful futures on a career track.

On a related note, respondents pointed out that the organization serves all youth. Case 1 does not focus exclusively on youth who excel academically or otherwise. The role of the organization is to help youth determine and define their path to self-sufficiency. A respondent affirmed this view and described Case 1's work as follows:

> And understanding and meeting youth where they are. Because a lot of organizations will take the all-star students or they will have the supers stars. And that's not what we're looking for. We're really looking for kind of our diverse group. We don't want to exclude those, so we want to be able to obviously serve those and engage those. At the same time, there are youth where college isn't going to be their thing. And that's their own choosing. It's not for everybody and I can completely understand that piece. And so what is it that we're doing to help them succeed in this world?

Consequently, Case 1 has adopted a program model that provides youth with varying options for engagement.

In its approach to youth work, Case 1 also finds various ways of engaging young people in their community. The organization tries to infuse civic engagement in all of its work with youth. In discussing what the organization expects of youth participants, one respondent stated, "They all have to participate in civic engagement. They all have to go through civic engagement training… it's the entire organization." While specific groups of young people are directly working on advocacy and community organizing campaigns (e.g., addressing health inequities in the Latino community), all youth and staff are expected to participate on some level in support of this work.

Practice

Programs. Since 2007, Case 1 has been increasingly more thoughtful and intentional in how it structures programs and the types of programs it offers youth starting in the 6th grade up to age 21. The organization has created an integrated youth development model that offers programming in four domains: education, workforce development, civic engagement and Latino culture exploration. The organization sees these four areas as interrelated and essential to helping Latino youth be successful. While youth are able to enter programming at any point, Case 1's goal is to engage youth starting in middle school through high school in order to help them gain the skills and competencies they need for successful entry into adulthood. One respondent described the organization's model as, "Our model is that youth start with us in 6th grade and go all the way to you know, second year of college or employment. 30% of our youth now have gone through that pathway and our goal is to keep on growing that number… And so we really get to know who they are." Several respondents noted that Case 1's long-term approach differentiates the organization from others in the city. To this point, one respondent stated, "And also the commitment to being with you for multiple years. Like I don't think, there aren't a lot of people that I feel, organizations that say, we're going to work with you for six, eight, ten years. And any of your family that come through." Case 1, therefore, has structured programming to allow young people to stay engaged for multiple years.

The organization has established a model that offers participants a number of pathways for engagement. These pathways offer participants the opportunity to engage in

various ways according to age, interests and specific needs. In addition to offering choices along the way, the program establishes a ladder of participation. Participation in the middle years looks distinctively different from the high school years. As a participant's time at the organization increases, Case 1 gives youth the opportunity for paid work and greater leadership roles within the organization. By the time youth reach high school age, the model shifts from traditional service delivery to one that stresses the contributions youth can make in community change. As stated above, Case 1's programs are organized across four domains: 1) education; 2) workforce development 3) civic engagement; and 4) Latino culture exploration. In order to keep the organization's anonymity, actual program names are not provided in the discussion that follows.

Under the *Education* domain, Case 1 offers three programs. Two of the programs target the organization's core population, meaning year-round multi-year participants. The third program is a summer program that addresses summer learning loss for middle school students in the city. These participants may stay engaged with the organization beyond the summer, but it is not a program requirement. The middle school and high school education programs are structured differently in order to appropriately meet the needs of youth in each age group. The middle school program is a traditional after-school enrichment and education program. While the high school program is an evening tutorial and college access program. This program is open to both Case 1's core population and community youth who are in need of academic and college access support. High school-age youth who are participating in other programming in the organization are expected to

take part in the evening tutorial and college access program twice per week to stay on track academically throughout their time at the organization.

At the time of data collection, Case 1 had just finished piloting a new program for 9th graders. The program was established to help youth make the transition from the middle school to the high school program. The 9th grade program was a response to attrition the organization was experiencing when youth started high school. A respondent explained the origin of the program as follows:

> So, in previous years, we were really seeing a lot of youth. We were really losing a lot of youth in that 9th grade year. They were transitioning from [the middle school program] to the Youth Leader positions. Transitioning from middle school to high school. And it was a really big leap for them. They were having a hard time and just like freshmen year in college is hard, 9th grade is a really pivotal year. … And then we created this 9th Grade Academy, so as more a bridge into the youth leader positions.

The 9th grade program is set up to help youth stay on track academically. Another respondent stated, "So, we really try to make sure we are prioritizing their academics. And that the youth are prioritizing their academics before working, but while also acknowledging that a lot of our youth do need to work." Youth get paid for their participation in the 9th grade program, just like they would in the other high school programs the organization offers. As I was completing my field research, the organization was reviewing the program and thinking of extending it to any high-school age youth

struggling academically. This would give older high school students an opportunity to access additional academic support as needed.

The programs Case 1 offers high school students differ from the middle school experience in important ways. In its theory of change the organization states the following:

> Whereas [name of organization] middle school programming is similar to that of other organizations, in its core work with high school students [name of organization] introduces a strong element: it pays young people stipends to participate as Youth Leaders in order to keep them engaged and participating at high levels, and to mobilize them as a resource for the work that the organization does in the local neighborhood and in city-wide initiatives.

Case 1 considers workforce development skills and competencies to be as important as educational attainment, particularly for Latino youth and youth who are not on a college track. Under the *Workforce Development* domain, the organization offers programs that give high school-age youth the opportunity to acquire hands-on work skills. High-school age youth are hired as Youth Leaders in programs within and outside of the organization. One program, Health Careers, places youth in internships at eight local hospitals. This program targets youth in high school and "opportunity youth" (youth not in school and not working). The Music program employs youth to support college music instructors that provide fee-based music classes to children and youth in the community. Youth are also afforded the opportunity to work as youth organizers in Case 1's Youth Organizing program. Through these various programs high school-age youth are able to acquire

concrete work skills through paid internships/positions. A youth described the workforce development aspect of the organization as follows:

> Also, the help that they give you like help you prepare for the workforce, I guess. Because they help you with interviewing skills. They help you with your resumes. It's like for someone... I would say [name of organization] is perfect for someone like myself who is starting of without having no job experience. This is the best place to come to because they help you prepare and know what to do for the future, I guess.

Under the *Civic Engagement* domain, the organization's key program is the Youth Organizing program. In the organization's business plan the program is described in the following way:

> … emphasizes building leadership skills so that youth have the capacity to identify and take action on systemic problems in community through organizing campaigns. The YCO program focuses on issues of environmental justice, health disparities, education reform and quality of life in [neighborhood where organization is located], violence and other issues that affect the lives of youth.

While a small group of youth is hired as Youth Organizers, civic engagement is threaded throughout the organization's work. One respondent stated, "We have the youth community organizing program that is led by a smaller group of youth, but all youth are expected to participate in the campaigns." Another respondent similarly stated:

> They all have to participate in civic engagement. So our civic engagement, um, our community organizing program, it used to be a program. Now it's

> organization wide. And if you look at our theory of change it is because we are only going to be focusing community organizing initiatives to advance and better the Latino life in [city where organization is located].

Staff pointed out that all the youth in the organization go through civic engagement training.

The fourth domain under which the organization offers programs is the *Latino Culture Exploration.* In a funding proposal the organization writes: "A distinguishing factor of [name of organization] model is that we affirm a strong sense of positive cultural identity through the integration of language, culture, and cultural pride into our curriculum." The proposal also states, " A positive cultural identity can serve as a buffer against adverse social circumstances, setting norms for behavior, and providing youth with a sense of group cohesion that promote healthy development." While the arts are embedded in all Case 1's programs, there are programs in which the arts are a core focus. These include the Music program (described above) and a mentoring program for girls. According to the organization's Business Plan, the latter is a program for 10-14 year old girls to develop leadership skills and self-esteem through mentoring relationships and participation in arts and cultural enrichment programming. During the data collection phase of the study, I learned that Case 1 was in the process of phasing out this program. The rationale behind this decision was not clear from the interviews.

Youth Outcomes. Case 1 has an explicit theory of change and associated youth outcomes it is tracking to assess the organization's overall success. One respondent explained the organization's theory of change in the following way:

> There are four pieces to the theory of change. They are all around youth development. So, they are around academic success. It's around being a citizen of the world basically, so in other words being civically engaged in your community. Understanding and being able to work with others, bringing forth community change. The other piece is around cultural identity. And, we also, we really defined our target. When I got here, it was citywide and it still is, but we really, in our theory of change said we are going to have [name of neighborhood where organization is located] students and [name of neighborhood where organization is located] residents.

Out of the organization's theory of change came clarity and specificity regarding its work with youth. A trade off in this process was walking away from programs the organization had been running for some time, but ultimately fell outside of the organization's core work. A respondent captures this in the following way, "we had this phenomenal dance program. Are we about that? Is that going to get us what we want? So, we had to cut some things out… So things that we felt okay we really want to do that, but how do we really carve out our niche." In addition to dropping the dance program, the organization changed its work with parents. Rather than continuing with parent organizing in general, Case 1 shifted to the intentional engagement of families of the youth it serves. At the time of data collection, the organization had recently hired its first case manager with training in social work in an effort to improve its work with families and youth.

In several of the written materials reviewed for this study, including the theory of change and business plan documents, Case 1 articulates specific outcomes it is pursuing

through its work (see Table 5). Case 1 tracks short-term, intermediate and long-term outcomes across four areas. In the short-term, the organization focuses on helping youth achieve academically and gain workforce and 21st Century skills. Intermediate outcomes include academic success, career orientation and cultural knowledge (Latino culture). At the intermediate level, Case 1 is also tracking outcomes at the level of community. Specifically, the organization looks for sustained improvements for the neighborhood where the organization is located and Latinos in the city. The organization is tracking only one long-term outcome, which is the academic success of its participants. Long-term academic success is defined as the completion of at least two years of post-secondary education. Case 1 states that its overall aim is for youth participants to achieve economic self- sufficiency, healthy families and overall relationships, and community involvement.

Short-term Outcomes	Measures	Intermediate Outcomes	Measures	Long-term Outcomes	Measures
Academic success	High rate school attendance; low rate behavioral referrals	Academic success	On-time promotion; high school completion; college matriculation	Academic success	Completion 2 years of post-secondary education
Competence workforce	Skills: communica-	Career orientation	Knowledge about career		

readiness/ 21st Century skills	tion, inter-personal, decision making, lifelong learning, critical thinking, cultural competency, leadership	in internship field	internship field; interest pursuing career internship field		
		Cultural knowledge	Knowledge family heritage		
		Sustained improve-ments for neighbor-hood and Latinos	New policies and revenues for Latinos and neighbor-hood residents		

Table 5. Case 1 Youth Outcomes.

Adult-Youth Relationships. Case 1 tries to create a space where youth feel safe and comfortable approaching adults in the organization. In addition to having formal mechanisms by which youth can provide feedback regarding programs and the overall organization, staff has monthly "check-ins" with youth. These are 15-20 minute check-ins where youth have an opportunity to share concerns with staff. Staff, especially at the management level, talked about doing whatever possible to make themselves "accessible" to youth. Several staff stated that youth have no problem accessing staff whenever they needed to talk. When asked if youth were comfortable speaking openly with staff one respondent quickly replied, "Oh, yes. They don't have a problem with that." Another respondent explained that if youth are not comfortable speaking with the staff running their program, they know that they can talk with others in the organization including the program directors and executive director.

Youth talked about having positive relationships with the adult staff at the organization. In describing his experience with the staff at the organization, one youth respondent stated:

> Well, I am very close to [name of staff person]. Everyone is very close to [name of staff person]. She's like a very calm person. She's very friendly too. She laughs a lot too. Like, like she's like I don't know... like a friend, but we know she's our boss too. So, I'll just go up to [name of staff person] and be like, "[name of staff person] I need help. I don't understand this." And she would just help me. She'd help anyone. And that's basically saying the same thing to anyone here. All the

> staff, if you ask them, they'll smile and be like okay how can I help you and all that.

In talking about the staff at the organization, another youth respondent stated, “they’ve become a family.” This youth went on to explain how “sad” it is for the staff to know she would soon be leaving the organization because she was about to graduate high school. This youth emphasized the quality and depth of the relationship she has established with staff. This youth went on to share how staff has gotten to know her and her family over the years.

Youth Participation. Case 1 emphasizes youth empowerment and youth voice as key elements of its work. In a proposal to one of its leading funders, the organization states, “As a critical piece of our mission, we work to empower youth to become leaders within the organization and throughout the larger community.” As one staff talked about how the organization thinks about youth development, she reiterated the importance of youth voice and leadership.

> A lot of youth who maybe are seen as troublemakers or… and they actually get to speak in public, they get to lead something, you see like the change that happens. How they feel more confident. They feel like they count. They feel like they have a voice. So, I think making sure that youth have that opportunity to lead within the organization.

One respondent was quick to point out that although the organization tries to include youth voice in its work, the organization is not youth-led. The respondent stated that this was something that the organization had to clarify at one point.

> To be clear we are not a youth-led organization. So, we tell the youth we are not youth-led. We listen to what you have to say, but this is not youth-led. It was something very interesting because we were a transformation of that. Many people thought we were youth-led. And we had many confrontations with past youth, staff and board members because of that.

Similarly, another staff person commented on the conversations the organization has had about whether it is a youth-led or a youth development organization. "And I think something that we struggle the difference between a youth-led and, like a youth-led organization, and a youth development organization. And what is the difference? And who are we?" Another respondent made sure to distinguish between the role youth and adults play in decision-making in the organization.

> The adults make more decisions about scheduling and even the academics because obviously we understand a little bit more and we are trying to get them to understand the systems a little bit more to get them to college, to graduate on time. But in terms of the actual work, work that they do here, it is very much led and developed by them.

Case 1 operationalizes youth empowerment and youth voice in two different ways. On the one hand, the organization has built internal mechanisms for youth empowerment and for the integration of youth voice in its work. In addition to the internal mechanisms, Case 1 is also deliberate in the way it goes about ensuring that youth have a meaningful and visible role in leading change at the community-level.

Case 1 has developed a program structure that allows youth to take on greater leadership roles within the organization over time. Youth go from being mostly passive participants in an after-school program in middle school to taking on the role of Youth Leaders once they start high school. As Youth Leaders, high school age participants get an opportunity to engage in meaningful internships on- and off-site depending on their interest. At the time of data collection, Case 1 had just brought back Senior Youth Leader positions. These positions give a smaller group of high school age participants who exhibit strong leadership skills the ability to take on greater responsibility within their respective group (e.g., Youth Organizing Program, Health Educators). One respondent explained that Senior Youth Leader positions were created in order to "retain youth who had been in the program two three years and really had some great leadership skills, but still needed to have them a bit refined." These positions were being reintroduced after having been dormant for a while for reasons not clear from the interviews. Youth interested in these positions were asked to go through a weeklong interview and selection process. One respondent explained the expectations for Senior Youth Leader positions in the following way, "to be able to lead workshops, help design different pieces, understand what site visits look like. Lead those site visits and then be able to go to this funder thing and take the initiative to speak up on what they were doing without us having to be like alright let's prep you again to say this." In addition to greater responsibilities in their respective programs, Senior Youth Leaders receive a higher stipend.

Youth Leaders (high-school age participants) are provided with several opportunities to lead within the organization. Staff and youth often referred to youth-led workshops as an example of how youth lead within the organization. Youth Leaders develop workshops for middle-school participants with the help of adult staff. A youth describes this process in the following way:

> [Name of staff person] has a lot of books and stuff about how to set up workshops. Well we literally, she tell us, okay, set up a new workshop. And we literally we're like the team. We come up with it on our own. She gives us the books and we look through. We learn how to do objectives. How to prepare, like so, yeah we do all of that.

Occasionally, youth are also asked to present to the organization's board of directors. One youth described himself as a shy person, but said he took on leadership roles in the organization when asked and proceeded to share the following example, "[name of staff person] needed like four or five of us to talk to the Board members about [name of organization] and what we do. So, I actually volunteered to do it and three other people. So, I do take leadership, but everyone takes leadership eventually."

In discussing how Case 1 goes about involving youth voice into its work, several respondents talked about the formal evaluations the organization uses twice per year to obtain youth perspectives about the organization, programs and staff. To conduct this evaluation, the organization is using a tool provided by one of its funders to assess not only the content of programming, but relationships with the adult staff. The tool assesses for things such as, "Staff care about me. I can trust staff, the programming is stimulating,

the rules are fair." In addition to formal evaluations, staff also does periodic informal "check-ins" with youth to see how things are going with the organization and their respective program. There also seemed to be a sense that youth felt comfortable approaching staff or management to address any issues that may come up. Both youth respondents shared feeling very comfortable talking with staff at the organization. In discussing their comfort with approaching staff, one youth respondent stated, "And that's basically saying the same thing to anyone here. All the staff, if you ask them, they'll smile and be like okay how can I help you and all that."

The organization has tried with limited success to formally include youth on the board and in other meaningful ways in the organization. In regards to youth involvement on the organization's board, one respondent stated, "We've tried. It just hasn't worked out. With the school, you know, with the school. But something we've always talked about, though." When asked what has gotten in the way of getting youth involved on the board, another respondent stated:

> I think life. I think it's not a priority for them. So that's definitely something we have to work on. Finding out how do we get them to attend, but usually, it's life. Something always happens or I forgot. Our meetings are in the evening and you know they're always welcome. But it's always been a challenge. They haven't attended. So, there is that place at the table for them.

At the time of data collection, a new member had recently joined the board. This new board member had been both a participant and staff person at the organization. Participation of youth in hiring of new staff has also fluctuated. When I was conducting

the research for this study, Case 1 was in the process of hiring for several positions. Youth were being included as part of the hiring teams, but one respondent admitted that the involvement of youth "ebbs and flows." This respondent attributed the inconsistency of youth involvement in hiring staff to a failure to institutionalize the practice in the organization. This respondent goes on to say:

> I don't think it's because people don't want to. I think it's just more how do we institutionalize it. In a way… as well as in a way prepare the young people to be successful in that role. Because to give them the experience. Because it's an awesome opportunity, yet you don't want to say like here [name of young person] here's a list of questions, we're doing an interview. Like they've never…they've only done an interview here for most of them. So, how are they going to be able to ask questions and feel prepared?

It was clear that the desire to involve young people in decision-making is present in the organization. One staff person alludes to this in the following statement, "This program is your second home, your second life, and so you have the right to understand organizational change and what is happening and how that is going to affect you." In practice, however, it has been challenging to always involve youth in meaningful ways.

Case 1 approaches its external work with youth beginning with the recognition that there are structural disparities based on race and class that affect the lives of Latino youth. In a funding application, the organization provides the following rationale for its youth organizing work:

> Currently in the city of [city where organization is located] and nationwide, low-income youth of color are invisible. Systemic changes that affect their life opportunities and trajectories take place without their input, within traditional systems of power where racism has been institutionalized and pervades decision-making processes even today in the 21st Century. In response [name of organization] has worked with youth in our community to implement a proven-successful model for grassroots leadership that empowers young people to hone their leadership skills so they are equipped to identify community problems, take action, and develop community-solutions.

Through the organization's Youth Organizing program, youth get the opportunity to sit on a variety of community and citywide decision-making bodies, including city task forces, foundation advisory councils and neighborhood housing councils. As part of an English Language Task Force, youth representatives persuaded the city's school superintendent to create a youth advisory board made up of students from diverse backgrounds. At the time of this study, two youth leaders from the organization were leading a process by which they were hoping to get more insights on the specific needs of students for whom English is a second language. The hope was to take this learning back to the school district to help shape policy and programming decisions going forward.

In its approach to youth development, the contributions young people can make in their communities are a significant part of Case 1's work. One staff person described that success for the organization is when a young person recognizes they have a role to play in their community. This respondent stated, "But if they see themselves as positive

members and that they have a responsibility to be involved, I think that's important for us." Another staff person described youth development in the organization as follows:

> [T]o me is that they are growing, but that somehow their growth has to be somehow connected to interacting and contributing to everyone else and not just I get to collect and keep growing and get stuff for my tool kit and walk away and do whatever.

Staff recognized that not all youth contribute in the same way. The expectation is that youth will find ways to contribute that make sense for them. To this point a staff person stated, "I look at youth development as where does someone get to learn about themselves and the world around them and continue to grow and contribute back in whatever shape makes sense for them." One of the youth respondents attributed the opportunity to contribute as one of the reasons why they had stayed with the organization through middle school and high school. This young person stated, "And I kept coming back because it was... what I was doing felt good. It was... instead of being in the streets, you know not doing anything, I was actually contributing to something." This young person went on to name tangible ways in which she has been able to contribute to change in her community. As part of a group of Youth Leaders working on health issues, this young person had participated in a School Lunch campaign, which worked to get salad bars in some of the city's high schools.

Pressures to Adopt PYD

Case 1 was selected because of its perceived high level of PYD adaptation. In the initial screening process, high level of PYD integration was defined as demonstrating

commitment to all or most of the six Cs of PYD, in particular "contribution." Key informants applied the following criteria to the high PYD level category: program intentionality, focus on developmental stages, focus on transformation, trained staff (in PYD), PYD infused at all levels of the organization, youth centered/youth focused, and youth voice/youth leadership. In addition to being committed to the six Cs of PYD, Case 1 emphasized "culture" as an important element of PYD.

A second assumption guiding this study was that organizations facing normative pressures would demonstrate substantive PYD adaptation. Case 1 meets this assumption to some extent. The organization is integrating PYD in formal and informal ways. Through its latest strategic plan and concurrent theory of change processes, the organization restructured its program model to better align with a PYD framework. Formal adaptation of PYD is seen in the organization's program structure, evaluation framework and multiple and clear mechanisms for youth participation. In addition to formal integration of PYD, the data points to informal adaptation of PYD. While the organization does not measure or formally structure the adult-youth relationship, youth and staff both referenced the quality of these relationships as an organizational and staff priority. In addition to formal mechanisms for youth participation, the organization's staff, leadership and board members value youth voice. For instance, youth are often invited to present to the organization's board of directors. Whenever possible, the organization also includes youth in the hiring of new staff.

Isomorphic pressures partly explain Case 1's substantive adaption of PYD. Professionals, both consultants and staff, have played important roles in the

organization's increased commitment to PYD over the years. Alongside normative pressures, the organization is also facing mimetic pressures. Case 1 admits imitating the behavior of a local youth-serving organization it deems successful in the city. In addition to isomorphic pressures, other factors seem to be influencing the organization's adaptation of PYD. These factors include the organization's leadership, commitment to community and desire to differentiate itself from other youth-serving organizations in the city.

Normative Pressures

Over the years, the organization has evolved into a community-based youth serving organization grounded in PYD. In a grant proposal the organization acknowledged this shift when it stated the following, "We now empower youth and guide them successfully into college and beyond, provide them with meaningful jobs that build professional and personal skills, and create progressive change in the community." Case 1 has become more deliberate in its adaptation and implementation of PYD. Several normative pressures seemed to have influenced this change. Through a series of planning activities, Case 1 arrived at an integrated youth program model that supports the development and transition to adulthood for Latino youth. Getting to this integrated model encompassed a theory of change process that led to greater clarity and intentionality in Case 1's approach to youth work. As part of the organization's theory of change process, Case 1 had to make difficult decisions as it determined which aspects of its programming were crucial to obtaining the youth outcomes it was seeking. For the

majority of 40 years, the organization served Latino youth using a peer leadership model. One respondent described Case 1's work in the following way, "Youth training other youth and disseminating information; and so, the organization has been doing that for at least 30 years. The peer leadership approach, which now, it's youth development; I don't think people use the peer leadership term anymore."

Arriving at a theory of change was not easy for the organization. Case 1 worked with a well-known consultant that had done theory of change work with several nonprofit organizations in the area, including Case 1's biggest competitor. In fact, this competitor or "sister organization" (as staff refer to it) worked with this consultant before Case 1 did. Where this type of work typically takes about six months, Case 1 took two and half years to complete the process. During that process, the organization consulted the professional PYD literature. Through this process, Case 1 learned more about the PYD framework and derived specific strategies for implementing aspects of the framework into its work. This work culminated in a new theory of change and an integrated program model for youth starting in middle school through the early years in college.

In addition to the strategic planning and theory of change process, staff seems to play a significant role in the formal and informal adaptation of PYD in the organization. Staff members are critical in the implementation of programs in accordance with Case 1's theory of change. For instance, staff facilitates youth leadership by being supportive of high school participants without taking over program delivery. As mentioned earlier, high school students are responsible for conducting workshops on a regular basis for younger participants. Moreover, Case 1 prioritizes hiring staff members that have past youth

development experience and a passion for working with Latino youth. One respondent stated, “We are looking for people who have experience with youth development.” In addition, through mostly informal channels, Case 1 makes sure staff become familiar with the organization’s model of youth development. A respondent pointed out that Case 1’s model is different from others and stated, “We feel that our youth development is different. And I think, we feel that the one thing that does set us apart is our work with families.” In addition to its work with families, Case 1 pointed to its focus on culture, specifically Latino culture, as something that makes the organization uniquely different from other youth serving organizations. In addition, Case 1 relies heavily on staff to build quality relationships with youth. The organization does not have a formal component (e.g., case management, mentoring) for these relationships to develop; however, it is clear from the accounts youth shared that staff members build close relationships with youth and their families.

Coercive

Case 1 did not name funding sources as an external pressures behind its decision to engage in theory of change work and its subsequent decision to clarify its youth development model. When discussing pressure from funders, one respondent talked more about the pressure to serve a high number of youth. One respondent stated:

> I mean the [name of funder] is... they want us to be reaching like thousands and thousands of people, but if you look at our model then we need a lot more money to be doing what we do with that many people. So, it's kind of trying to balance...

> trying to fit in. It's a lot of money to walk away from, but it's also... they are asking us to do a lot.

Another respondent spoke of tension between funders and the organizations they support. This respondent pointed out that Case 1's funding was reduced because it was not able to commit to serving the high numbers the funder required. This respondent further stated:

> I think there is always going to be and always has been that tension between funders. What the funders want and what the organization can do. What the organization should do and want to do. With the major funders we try our hardest to have a great relationship and to be as open and honest as possible. And sometimes that has led us to cutting funding or increase in funding. And we are okay with that. For example, [name of funder] cut us significantly our funding because we refused to increase the number of youth that we said we were going to serve.

In my interviews with three of the organization's funders, however, I found alignment between their priorities and Case 1's work. Funders were clear that Case 1's work fell in one or more of their strategic priorities. All three funders that were interviewed were supporting the organization well before it completed its latest strategic plan, so there did not seem to be a direct connection between the organization's latest adaptation of PYD elements and funder priorities.

Mimetic

Case 1 has one major competitor. This competitor or "sister organization" is another leading youth organization in an adjacent neighborhood of the city. While this organization is not strictly Latino-focused, it serves primarily Latino youth. One respondent described the relationship between Case 1 and its sister organization as follows:

> [Name of Organization] is... we call them our sister organization. But they're also a competitor. A lot of funders hold them in high regard. They're very cutting edge. Very effective youth organization, but it's also why they are our sister organization. We really look to them, but they are our competitors. We want to be the first ones to do something. And they look to us, and they want to be the first to do something. We're very competitive. It's like sibling rivalry.

As aforementioned, this sister organization completed a theory of change process before Case 1 did. The sister organization's experience informed Case 1's decision to engage in the work and, subsequently, retain the same consultant. Respondents mostly described the relationship with the organization as a "friendly competition." However, respondents admitted that limited funding resources fuels the competition more than anything. In describing this rivalry, one respondent stated, "Funders put us in this position… we go for the same funding." Case 1 admits imitating some of this sister organization's practices, including some that align with PYD (e.g., youth participation in community).

In the process of doing the theory of change work, the organization also looked at both local and national youth organizations to inform its work. Nationally, among several

organizations, Case 1 looked at the Latin American Youth Center, which is located in Washington DC. The organization also looked at the Harlem Children's Zone in New York City.

One respondent explained the reasons for looking at these two organizations as follows:

> [T]he Latin America Youth organization out of... I believe out of DC. Their commitment for wraparound services as well as families. I know we talked about like the Harlem Children's Zone in terms of being intentional with birth to age out... What's really good about it? What's really bad about it? And we also try to look at youth organizations that kept youth to staff transition and there aren't that many. And there wasn't anybody that we could find necessarily. That youth start in middle school, were employed in high school, went to college and got their degree, and then came back and worked for the organization.

Locally, Case 1 specifically pointed to two organizations it looked at during its theory of change activities. One organization was of interest because of its family-focus. The other shared Case 1's values around youth development and youth voice. Related to the latter, one respondent states, "The youth have to be the ones leading the change and speaking for themselves. So we have that in common." The practices of these national and local organizations informed Case 1's integrated long-term model of youth development.

Additional Factors Influencing PYD Adaptation

In addition to isomorphic pressures, other factors seemed be influencing Case 1's substantive adaptation of a PYD framework. The board and executive director spouse

values and beliefs that strongly align with a PYD framework. Under the leadership of the current executive director, the organization has engaged in a number of planning processes to ensure the organization remains relevant and responsive to community needs. The executive director has not shied away from these activities and has helped Case 1 work through the challenges it has faced over the years. Under her leadership the organization has evolved into a well-respected youth-serving organization in the city. While it is hard to ascertain a clear connection between the learning the organization has engaged in and funding, under her leadership the organization's budget has grown substantially.

A reoccurring theme was the organization's strong desire to differentiate itself from other youth serving organizations in the area, including its sister organization. In discussing this, one respondent stated the following:

> I see the difference, but funders always say… from a funder's perspective I think there is a competition because there is always you guys are just like [name of sister organization]. And I have to say no, we are not like [name of sister organization. Let me tell you how we are different. We have a similar model, which is great. And we believe that if their model works in the community, it helps us and if they are advancing and work with Latino, African American, and the youth are advancing… better, because remember we only have one lifeboat.

The lifeboat metaphor was used by the theory of change consultant to help Case 1 narrow its target population and clarify the most crucial elements of its program model.

As seen by the comment above, Case 1 struggles to differentiate itself from its sister organization. This preoccupation extended beyond the organization's biggest competitor. This came through as one staff discussed the organization's theory of change work:

> And for example the theory of change... I believe it was through a grant, but it was also through like how do we make ourselves better and how do we really separate ourselves from all the other many, many, many nonprofits. And so, there were some things we looked strategically at.

More than one respondent pointed out that Case 1 differs drastically from larger youth-serving organizations like the Boys and Girls Club and YMCA. Case 1 saw the main difference being the intense and long-term work the organization does with a relatively smaller number of youth. A board member was quick to point to a frustration with these larger organizations and their ability to attract funding. This board member stated, "…it just drives us crazy, are the big youth serving organizations, like the Boys and Girls Clubs and the YMCAs. They get tons of private and public funding. And they don't provide services in the depth that we do."

Case 1 is committed to the community and Latino youth. In order to stay relevant to the needs of the community, the organization consulted youth and families to complete the latest strategic planning and theory of change processes. The input gathered in these conversations is reflected in Case 1's integrated program model. A more holistic program model is a direct result of these conversations, which happens to align with a PYD framework.

Conclusion

Case 1 has changed from when it was first established over forty years ago. The organization has gone from mainly focusing on health education and the prevention of negative behaviors (e.g., substance use, teen pregnancy) to an approach of working with youth that aligns with the principles of PYD. This shift was particularly more pronounced after the organization completed its latest strategic planning process, which included an articulation of the organization's theory of change. Through this process the organization adopted a model that offers young people multiple pathways to acquire skills and competencies needed to enter adulthood successfully.

The organization seems to primarily be facing normative pressures to adopt and enhance its PYD model. Through the theory of change activities the organization consulted research in youth development to inform some of its decisions. In addition, the organization recruits staff with experience, passion and commitment to positive youth development. While most of the pressures the organization names are normative, Case 1 consulted organizations it deemed successful in the process of clarifying its youth development model. At the local level, the organization has a "friendly competitor." The actions of this organization seem to influence to some extent the actions of Case 1. Coercive pressures were less pronounced. There did not seem to be a strong connection between the organization's decision to clarify its theory of change and youth development approach and its major funders. Other factors also seem to be influencing the organization's actions, which have resulted in greater alignment with a PYD framework. Case 1's board and executive director are committed to PYD. The

organization has evolved over the years to ensure the needs of the Latino community and Latino youth are being met.

CHAPTER 5: CASE 2 RESULTS

Introduction

Like Case 1, Case 2 was included in this study based on the organization's perceived level of PYD integration. Based on stakeholder interviews, Case 2 was categorized as having a moderate level of PYD integration. This chapter presents the results for Case 2. The chapter begins by providing the context for the organization, including a brief history, mission, target population, budget and background on the board and staff. The remainder of the chapter is organized using this study's conceptual framework. The section entitled "Positive Youth Development Integration" looks at the extent to which PYD is part of the organization's philosophy and how the organization is implementing PYD elements across the organization. The next section entitled "Pressures to Adopt PYD" looks at how normative, coercive and mimetic pressures are influencing the organization's adaption of PYD principles. This section also discusses a number of other factors that seem to be influencing Case 2's actions, specifically as they relate to the organization's formal and informal adaptation of PYD.

History

Located in an urban northeastern city, Case 2 was founded in 1991 in response to a wave of youth violence in the city. In the year preceding the start of the organization, there had been over 150 gang-related homicides. The organization started with one simple theory: "getting kids off the streets and involved in music could change lives and transform communities." In discussing the beginning of the organization, a respondent

stated:

> So the impetuous of starting of it was essentially trying to figure out how to reconcile the fact that young people in [city where organization is located] were killing each other and, yet, adults in [city where organization is locate] kept going to work and coming home, going to work and coming home and those two things were happening in the same neighborhood of the same city. And there seem to be something really wrong with that. And that the media in reporting on all of that violence, often the media was villainizing youth. So youth were getting a really bad reputation.

This same respondent further stated:

> So it was this sort of fear, this fearful image of what young people were about. And a hopeless image of what young people were about. And my reaction to that was that I didn't believe that kids were innately bad or innately pathetic. I believed that kids were innately brilliant and innately capable, but that our systems weren't working to...and when I say systems is everything from families because they have to work so much to school systems to, you know, the actual social structure of a community.

Case 2 was co-founded by the organization's current executive director and one other person, who has since, left the organization. The organization started as a summer music program, with a small budget of $200 and 24 youth participants. In its early years, Case 2 operated out of the founders' home.

> Early participants came from two housing developments in the neighborhood, one

of which was mainly White and the other mostly Latino and African American. In discussing the Case 2's first group of youth participants, a respondent asserted that the organization was able to bridge differences by setting the right tone. This respondent stated:

> And yet we brought them both together in this thing because they had a mutual interest, which is music. And so not once did we have struggles between the two. Not once did we have turf issues or anything else because we set the tone right from the beginning. We recruited all of you because you all have a serious interest in being artists and musicians and that's what we're going to help you do. And what we expect from you is that you're going to bring your best selves everyday at work and we're going to do incredible work together.

In addition to racial diversity, early participants ranged in age from 6-18 years old.

In 2010, after the completion of a $4.6 million capital campaign, the organization moved to a permanent state-of-the-art facility. Through this facility, the organization has gradually expanded staffing, programming and the number of youth participants it serves annually. The capital campaign and building of the facility was an undertaking that lasted more than five years. On the day of the move, over 200 volunteers showed up to help transfer items from the organization's 13-year modest headquarters into the renovated 9,000 square feet space, which almost tripled the organization's living space. The organization has received a number of accolades over the years. Most recently, it received a national award, which recognized the organization as one of the top 12 youth arts and humanities programs in the country.

Mission, Target Population and Budget Size

Mission. The organization started with the premise that music could be transformative in the lives of youth and, in turn, the community. While the organization's mission statement has been reworked over the years, the original premise has not changed. In order to keep the anonymity of Case 2, the exact mission statement of the organization is not provided. Music as a tool for youth development is central to the organization's work. In Case 2's latest strategic plan the organization states that it does not get young people involved in "art for the art's sake." The strategic plan further states, "music serves as a medium through which young people can express themselves, gain confidence, and make positive changes in their lives and their communities." In a grant proposal, the organization also states, "We use music and creative arts as tools to foster personal development, artistic growth, community engagement and 21st century skills needed to achieve success as an adult."

Target Population. Similarly to the mission, the organization's target population has remained consistent over the years. Through a series of out-of-school and in-school programs, the organization serves 900 youth ages 7-18 (or age at high school graduation) annually. While younger participants are served by the organization, Case 2 is particularly focused on youth ages 12-18. At the time of data collection, a majority of youth participants (66%) were residents from the neighborhood where the organization is located. The rest of the youth were from other neighborhoods (8%) of the city and bordering communities (26%). In close alignment with the neighborhood's demographics, 67% of youth participants were Latino, 18% White and 15% other. While

no exact demographics were given on poverty level and immigration status, I got a sense from interviews with staff that a significant number of youth participants' families were living below the poverty level and were foreign born. A number of the youth were immigrants and English language learners. Staff also talked about youth participants who come from long-established Italian families in the neighborhood.

Budget Size. The organization's annual budget grew significantly after moving to the new facility. At the time of data collection, Case 2's budget was $1,071,300. Foundations accounted for the majority (over 60%) of the funding. The remaining funds came from other sources including individual donors and events.

Board

At the time of data collection, Case 2 had a 10-member board, comprised of community members, professionals, artists and parents. Through a committee structure, the organization engages additional volunteers with expertise and interest in various areas (e.g., fundraising, event planning). As much as possible, the organization tries to align the expertise of the board to the needs of the organization. For instance, when it was in the midst of the capital project, Case 2 brought on an architect, a green development consultant and members with experience in real estate development. After the completion of the project, these members left the board, which was anticipated given that the focus of the organization shifted from building a facility to sustainability and expansion. In discussing the type of board member the organization needs now that the facility project is complete, a respondent stated, "Well now we need people who are going to help us

raise money, people who are going to help us keep our visibility and raise our visibility, people who understand youth development and the importance of that."

Over time the organization's board has become more professionalized. One respondent made note of this and remarked on the organization having to do far less outreach to identify new board members than it did in the past. This respondent stated, "Not that there weren't professionals then either but um, back in the day we had to go out and find people, to outreach. To get people to join the board and now we get people coming to us so it's um, that's another revolution." This respondent went on to say that since moving to the new facility, the organization has gotten more attention, which, in her view, has increased interest in the organization. A staff person who was a past youth participant in the organization also acknowledged this shift. This respondent stated, "The board seemed a little more radical and they seemed a little more artsy, now it definitely seems a little more businessy. And even us, even different committees like the finance committee and all that stuff, for the board also has, it has. It's grown up." This same respondent went on to say, "Um, I don't see the board really directly connected to a lot of the programs or the kids that we serve, but I am not sure if that's how boards run. If they're kind of just behind the scenes."

Staff

The organization's has a mix of full-time (10) and part-time (20) staff. As earlier stated, the executive director has been with the organization from the very beginning. She co-founded the organization over twenty years ago along with a close friend. In addition

to the executive director (1), the organization's full-time staff consists of a business manager (1), development staff (2), program director (1) and program staff (5). In addition to its full-time program staff, the organization contracts with artistic consultants to teach a variety of instruments including piano, guitar, bass, and percussion.

In talking about staff and the qualities that are important for the organization, respondents named passion, commitment to the organization's mission and fit with the organization's culture as being important. One respondent elaborated why passion for the work is so important and stated:

> They say, you know it needs to be someone that has a connection to music, and a connection to the mission and passion that's just kind of inside them because on a day-to-day basis that's what's going to keep them going. Um, especially you know, when budgets are tight or when you know you're wearing 12 hats because it's such a small staff. You know you're working long hours, so there's really this underlying passion that has to be there.

Passion is considered critical in helping staff persevere through hard times and challenges that come with working at a small nonprofit organization. Another respondent further expanded on what the organization looks like when hiring new staff and stated:

> So depending on what somebody is hiring to do, we are definitely looking for people who care about and love kids. Who believe in the arts as an empowering form of youth development work and that doesn't matter if you're the business manager or, you know, the program director.

In addition, respondents acknowledged that because the organization has an arts focus, there is a level of technical expertise staff need to have in order to be a good fit for the organization. However, technical expertise is not sufficient on its own. Staff members need to have experience and an understanding of youth development. Of the staff interviewed for this study, all but two had prior experience working with youth. The executive director (and founder) had not worked with youth prior to starting the organization. Another staff person who had been with the organization for 13 years and was a former participant, joined Case 2's staff without direct youth work experience. This staff person joined the organization's staff after deciding against pursuing an audio engineering career.

The organization is committed to providing basic training in youth development for all staff that works with youth directly. Training is provided through a local initiative focused on the training of youth workers, which is part of a national training program for youth work professionals (and the only youth work certificate program in the city). A staff person who has completed several of these trainings explained their value in the following way, "Um, like a unified approach towards youth work is, is at the core of it. Like being able to consider myself a professional and to have uh, terms and an approach and like a, a way that I'm thinking about what I'm doing and being serious about it." Similarly, another respondent discussed how the training frames youth work from an asset-based perspective. This respondent stated:

> So I think the [name of training] training does a lot of great stuff. First and foremost it frames asset-based youth development and gives people language

> around that. Now that said, I'm thinking about some of the teachers here that took that training eight years ago. And that language is long out of their curriculum. Out of their consciousness. But regardless, at least it was a base to start talking about...and I think they translate it in a way that works for them.

Not everyone is able to complete the training early in their tenure with the organization because it is offered only once a year and slots fill quickly. Whenever possible, however, the organization ensures that staff participates in the training. In addition to this training, the organization tries to do an orientation for all new staff; however, at least one staff member recognized that this does not always happen. When I was conducting the interviews for the study, the organization had just hired several new staff, including many part-time artist consultants. For this group, the organization had managed to conduct an orientation. The purpose of this orientation was to "get them off on the right foot." One respondent went on to explain that there are certain "ritualistic" things you want to do in every program such as beginning and ending classes in the same way.

Positive Youth Development Integration

Philosophy

Values and Beliefs. Case 2's work is guided by a set of values and beliefs. In a grant proposal, the organization lists four core values: youth, music, community and excellence. The organization sees these core values as interrelated. Case 2's founding was rooted in an asset-based perspective of youth. One respondent recalled the negative media coverage youth were getting at the time of the organization's founding and stated,

"And my reaction to that was that I didn't believe that kids were innately bad or innately pathetic. I believed that kids were innately brilliant and innately capable…" This view continues to guide the organization's work today, and is reflected in the following excerpt from a grant proposal:

> [Name of organization] provides a safe space during critical after-school and summer hours for young people to explore who they are and what they'd like to be. New participants are immediately treated as creative, capable individuals. Our staff focuses on young people's assets, challenging them to make positive choices in their lives and to help others do the same. We invite [name of organization] youth to partner with us in our work. Their knowledge of community and youth issues, along with their creativity and spirit, make them invaluable "experts" in the field of youth-work.

The organization believes that every young person is "brilliant" and that the job of the adults is to use their expertise in music to work with youth in varying ways. Another respondent reiterated that any brilliance in the organization comes from the youth and not the adults in the building.

As reflected in the core values of the organization, Case 2 believes strongly that art is a powerful tool in youth development. As previously stated, the organization is clear that art in and of itself is not its end goal. To this point, one respondent stated:

> I mean music is the tool that we use, but I don't think that's necessarily a sign that we've done our work. I think that if a youth goes on to college and knows they want to study x, y or z. Like we've helped them get there or just that they have a

> sense that they matter. And that they can contribute.

In the quote above the respondent touches upon another important belief in the organization, which is that youth can "give back" or contribute to their community.

Moreover, Case 2 sets very high standards for its work with youth. In a grant report this is described as a "culture of learning and excellence." The grant report stated:

> Excellence can be defined in many ways; education, performance skills, technical skills, standards of character, etc. To [name of organization], excellence is a combination of evaluating tangible skills coupled with the feeling one gets when one knows something is special. This feeling is often a combination of ownership, confidence, inspiration, creativity, humility and/or pride, along with a connection to others. We believe, on a fundamental level, youth want to achieve excellence - to create something that they are proud of and which pushes them to grow as an artist.

In talking about the organization's approach to the work with youth, a respondent emphasized this belief as follows, "And to also hold high standards but not at such a rate where it's like uncomfortable for them or it feels like they can't do it." Across the organization's programs, youth are expected to showcase their best piece of work (e.g., a song, musical arrangement) at the end of a class cycle. The respondent above explains how staff prepares youth for this work as follows, "Um, it's mostly just um, setting the goal really high and helping them get to that goal, whatever they set for themselves." In speaking about these goals, respondents were clear that while music is a vehicle the

organization uses to engage youth. The goal is to have youth go on to do great things after their time in the organization whether its music related or otherwise.

Approach to Working with Youth. When discussing Case 2's approach to youth development, several respondents described a "feeling" in the organization. Other respondents described in some detail what the work looks like in practice. In relation to the former, respondents, including youth, described the organization as a "second home for youth" and a place that "feels like family." One respondent, who was both a board member and parent of a youth who went through the program, stated, "It's the whole feel of [name of organization] and the fact that you can walk in and actually see things happening and see the kids engaging and watch how adults interact with them and with each other." This respondent further stated:

> It, it feels, a lot of people, and me included, say it feels like home. It's, the kids feel at home here. They, a lot of them come here every day whether they have programs or not and they're tried to be, made to be useful if they're not here for a particular reason. Which again in a family that's what you do.

A youth referred to the organization as her home. This young person stated, "It's like the only two places I spend the majority of my lifetime is my house and this house." Both of the youth I interviewed for this study shared this perspective.

Respondents went on to explain that the organization creates a space that feels safe and free of judgment. Another youth described the organization as follows, "Um, uh, I would say it's a judge free environment and um, sort of laid back a little bit but, uh, and a fun environment at that, yeah and um, what else. Um, I think, I think that's it maybe."

Both youth and adults seemed to share this perspective and reiterated that youth feel comfortable and free to be themselves in the space. This came through when I observed programming. In one of the groups, there was a young person who seemed to identify as transgender. This young person appeared very comfortable presenting as a girl in class and was integrated into the group like all other youth in the room that day. A board member reiterated how important it is, particularly for adolescents, to have a safe place. This respondent stated, "Um, just for them to be accepted for who they are, they don't have to fit into this mold or that mold." In its approach, the organization has been able to create a space where young people feel safe to be themselves.

The creation of a "safe space" appears to be particularly important for an organization that is using the arts as a tool for youth development. It is important for young people to feel comfortable and safe taking risks, particularly with their art. One respondent described how staff goes about creating a safe space. Instructors begin each class cycle by having youth set ground rules for the group. While staff may add to the list, youth participants set most of these rules. In explaining the merits of this practice, the respondent stated:

> I think kids buy into that more… Then coming and having yet another place in their lives where it's, you must do this, you must do this, you must do this. They get enough of that in their life and I think that to have a place where it's like you know, you guys are responsible human beings, like you guys create the rules. Um is, I think they realize that that's sort of not just a big responsibility, but a privilege.

Case 2 tries to create a space where youth feel safe, respected and where their work is taken seriously. In giving feedback staff tries to be careful as to not "stifle creativity." Another respondent talked about how youth are taught the importance of "troubleshooting." This respondent explained that there are times during a live performance that equipment may malfunction. Youth are taught not to panic, but rather to assess the situation and figure out where the problem lies. This respondent stated:

> And instead of just panicking and not freaking out, thinking about, okay so there's a person singing into a microphone, are they singing? Yes. Okay, good. The microphone, is it working? Maybe swap in a different microphone, does it work now? No. Okay, next thing…

This respondent went on to explain how youth are able to then apply this skill to other aspects of their life.

As will be discussed below, the organization does programming in school and in the community. In both types of programs, the organization approaches its work creatively and from a youth development perspective. A respondent, who runs both types of programs, discussed how he tries to infuse activities such as icebreakers, circle time and evaluation into every session he runs whether in school or in the community. The respondent described these activities as starkly different from how things run in a school, but he explained that youth are more engaged in the material this way. In talking about a new instructor who has yet to learn the organization's approach to youth work, a respondent stated:

> How do you build a cohesion so that kids are going to love being in class? They're

> going to have enough trust in that room that they can take artistic risk. They're going to learn to love you and work with you. And you're setting the framework on which to build. So those tools include figuring out, like setting your group like in a circle the first day. Not in like rows where you're the teacher and they're the students. So set up in a circle, start of with simple instructions, names. They need to know each other's names. They need to laugh. So, there's icebreaker games that you can do to get them laughing.

This respondent emphasized how important it is for these elements to be found across all of the organization's programming.

Practice

Programs. Case 2 offers youth ages 7-18 a variety of program options. Through school partnerships, Case 2 offers school-based programming to 450 students each year. The organization engages an additional 450 youth through its community-based programs (offered after school and in the summer), which include private music lessons (delivered one-on-one or in small groups). Private music lessons and programming for younger youth (ages 7-12) are fee-based; all other programming is free of cost. Community-based programs are structured by age. Programming for younger participants, ages 7-12, includes a series of group classes in music, theater and dance. Older youth, ages 12-18, can choose from a variety of group classes in music, dance, songwriting, performance, music technology and radio. Community-based programs are offered three times per year: fall, spring and summer. Group classes run for 12-13 weeks and meet once, twice or

three times per week depending on the class. Each cycle offers 11 to 14 classes for older youth (12-18) to choose from and two classes for younger participants (7-12).

Length of time youth stay involved with the organization varies by program. On average, youth take private lessons for about 3.5 years. Whereas the average group program participation was 1.5 years at the time of data collection. One respondent explained that a recent influx of new participants had skewed this number. With the move to the new facility, the organization more than doubled the number of participants, going from 350 to 900 youth annually. There are some youth, however, that stay with the organization for much longer periods of time. This was the case for the two youth that were interviewed for this study. One youth started at the organization at the age of seven and stayed as a participant until high school graduation. At the time of the interview, this respondent was working part-time at the organization while going to college. The second youth that was interviewed for this study, a 10th grade high school student, had been with the organization for almost nine years.

Case 2's program structure allows for flexibility in terms of the duration and ways in which youth engage with the organization. Private lessons are available year round; therefore, youth can start taking lessons at any point, as long slots are open. Some instruments, however, have long waiting lists. For instance, for piano lessons the wait can be up to two years. Enrollment for group programs happens three times per year. The application process includes a short interview. One respondent explained the purpose of the interview as follows, "So, it's not a make or break, you know. Pretty much everyone will get placed. But just to get to know them a little bit." The interview also gives staff an

opportunity to assess the youth's commitment to the program. Older youth, 12-18, tend to get into group classes right away; younger youth (6-12) may be waitlisted for a period of time before starting. Most of group classes are not sequential; therefore, youth can enroll in classes based on their interests and availability. At the time of data collection, the organization had just begun offering a beginners and advanced music theory class. This was prompting the organization to think if more of its classes should be arranged sequentially to allow youth with more experience the ability to improve their skills in a more structured way. Moreover, youth are able to step in and out of the organization as needed. For instance, some youth will only enroll in summer programming because they are too busy during the academic year. At the time of data collection, 70% of youth had enrolled in multiple programs in the past 12 months.

Youth Outcomes. Case 2 participated in an evaluation project that brought together five arts youth development organizations in the area. Together these organizations developed a framework and tools for evaluating youth arts development programs. Collectively the five organizations adopted a theory of change that captures what a quality arts program provides youth. To maintain the anonymity of Case 2, the exact wording of this collective theory of change is not provided here. The theory affirms that quality programs provide youth with opportunities, a positive climate and connections. By participating in quality arts programs, youth will gain skills and competencies in three areas – artistic development, personal development and civic engagement. These short-term outcomes are seen as connected to both intermediate (able to be productive, engage, make connections) and long-term outcomes (resiliency, self-

efficacy, personal success and community engagement). In developing this theory, the organizations adapted language from The National Research Council and the Institute of Medicine's publication *Community Programs to Promote Youth Development* and *The Community Action Framework for Youth Development*.

Guided by this evaluation framework, Case 2 two tracks youth outcomes in three domains: personal development, artistic development and civic and community engagement. One respondent explained the organization's evaluation framework in great detail. She discussed the framework as "three intersecting circles" and stated:

> And as that as those three circles intersect that sort of center… if there's balance between in those three things and we're helping kids develop in those three areas, empowered youth is at the center.

Case 2 sees the three domains as equally important in determining the success of its work with youth. The personal development domain is discussed as a "young person being in a good place, they feel good about themselves, they're confident, they have a positive sense of self-worth, they're working towards their future and they have a positive sense of possibilities." The artistic development domain encompasses the technical and musical skills youth acquire through their participation in the organization. The third domain, civic and community engagement, refers to youth sharing their talents with the greater community. The same respondent as above explained the latter domain in the following way, "So bringing them out into the community whether it's our community where they can become assets in our community or whether it is bringing them to others. You know, other youth groups or other places within the city." In reviewing several grant proposals

and reports, I found that the organization consistently utilizes the evaluation framework to report on youth outcomes.

Adult-Youth Relationships. Case 2 tries to maintain a low turnover rate among program staff and teaching artists, to help youth develop meaningful relationships with the adults in the organization. Both staff and adults described the relationship between youth and adults in a positive way. One adult respondent stated:

> Um, they're respectful. The adults treat the kids like people, not like kids even thought I use the word kids but um, they're always open, uh, someone's always here to talk to someone if they need to talk or to suggest different programs or just to be there if the kids need an ear.

One youth characterized the relationship between adults and youth as follows, "They actually do care and they actually do love their students." This student made a comparison between staff at the organization versus her schoolteachers. This youth respondent explained the difference in the following way, "Like they're more relaxed here and more comforting than over there. It's like you feel so intimidated, so it's just, I really wish my music teachers at school were more like here." This same youth talked about feeling very comfortable approaching staff at the organization, particularly her piano instructor. The young person described the relationship as close not only between her and the instructor, but also between the instructor and her family. This young person stated:

> Like he's been there for, he was there at my family's Christmas party, like we trust him very dearly and he really shows that he cares about me and my family

> and we care about him, and like his wife and dog. So um, I usually talk to him, I'm just like hey something's going on and I just like talk to him casually and he like tries to make me understand or he tries to make me cool down or like think about it. Or he just gives me advice…

This same young person reiterated at the conclusion of the interview that the organization "really does care" and went on to explain how Case 2's executive director introduces herself to youth she has not met before. This young person further stated, "I don't know this place is just so loving to anyone who walks in the door."

The second youth interviewed for this study shared a similar perspective. This young person spoke very positively about his relationship with all staff, in particular the organization's executive director. At age 18 (and after aging out of the organization) this young person was on his own after moving back to the U.S. without his immediate family. For two months this young person stayed at the executive directors home before finding a more permanent living arrangement. This young person refers to Case 2's executive director as a "second mom." This respondent went on to say, "I came back by myself, my parents are there, they're still in Columbia so as of like a sort of a support system, I came back here." This young person also referred to the organization as a second home.

Youth Participation. Case 2 recognizes the importance of incorporating "youth voice" into programs and the overall life of the organization. While the organization is committed to this element of PYD, in recent years it has been struggling with its implementation. At the time of data collection for this case, the organization was in the

middle of strategic planning and one topic of discussion was the incorporation of youth voice into more aspects of the organization, including board membership.

The topic of a youth advisory board came up several times during my interviews. In its early years, the organization relied on a group of youth to act as advisors to the organization. A staff member and past participant recalled being part of the youth advisory board. When asked what kind of decisions the group made, this respondent stated:

> Yeah, definitely. We would talk about the mission, we would talk about um, different things that came up in the organization, whether it was like, uh you know retention, kids dropping out, what like, are the programs working? Was this program successful? Should we offer it again? Um, even things like going out and being able to like help raise money and tell the story and just be kind of like the crew that kind of called the shots from the inside. It was really interesting.

Another respondent also referred to the youth advisory board being an important and active group early in the organization's history. The youth advisory board consisted of approximately 15 youth. This respondent stated, "We really didn't do anything, we didn't make any major decisions without them. They essentially served as our board." In time, the organization began building its adult board, while maintaining the youth advisory board active. The board and youth advisory board served as important decision-making bodies for the organization.

The youth advisory board was active for about six years, from the beginning until the organization went through some major changes. As previously stated, the

organization was co-founded by two individuals out of their home. When the relationship between the founders changed and the organization moved from their home to a commercial space, the organization's leadership structure also changed. One co-founder stepped away from the organization's leadership and the current Executive Director remained as the sole director. At this time, the other co-founder joined the organization's board. Given these changes, the decision was made to bring in a consultant to start working with the youth advisory board. The rationale behind this decision was that youth would feel more comfortable to share their perspective on the changes that were happening with someone other than the remaining co-founder. This did not unfold as planned and the strength of the youth advisory board lessened over time. Recalling this time a respondent stated, "I'm not really sure, but I feel like that was really, that was the end of our strength of our youth advisory board. We have still and always will talk to and listen to our kids very closely about what their thoughts are, but it hasn't been in and organized fashion since then." It appears that the youth advisory board continued to exist in some form until the organization made the move to the new facility. It was not clear, however, how active the group was up to that point.

The desire to include youth voice in a more intentional way was voiced repeatedly during interviews. Several respondents pointed out that the organization includes youth whenever possible in organizational life. Youth are drawn into adult-led committees to add their perspective into the work. For instance, youth are part of a committee that helps to raise funds for the organization as part of an annual music community walk. In addition, youth are asked to present to the board on a regular basis. As mentioned earlier,

the organization was in the middle of strategic planning as data was being collected for this study. The strategic planning committee included two board members, six adult staff and two youth. While several respondents brought up the desire to reinstate the youth advisory board, there were some inconsistencies among respondents. One board member felt that the youth advisory board had served its purpose and the best direction to go in was for youth to join the board. The final strategic plan did not make specific recommendations on either a youth advisory board or adding youth members to the board. During the planning process, a new director of programs was hired and, therefore, the program related goals were extended beyond the strategic planning process timeframe. The strategic plan acknowledges that the organization is utilizing youth leaders (both alumni and current participants) to carryout some of its work and talks about bringing them together in some form to "tap the collective expertise of young leaders as appropriate." The plan states that the organization will host a youth retreat, but it does not give details as to the purpose and goals of the retreat.

In addition to including youth voice at an organizational level, several respondents pointed to specific ways in which this element is incorporated into day-to-day programming. One respondent states:

> Uh, kids are always welcome to be at any meeting or things that, things that are going on. Uh, it's not really as, there's not really as strong of a presence that there used to be or as much of an intentional meeting that specifically youth are talking about [organization's name] things of that nature like there used to be. Um, which is kind of sad but also kind of uh, like kind of part of the whole expansion

> experimental thing, figuring out the right time to do it and like, so we can do it really well and actually, uh, give it the attention it deserves. But right now the way that I see it a lot of the teachers take it upon themselves to really make sure they have their youth leaders to help them run their program areas, and that those roles are being filled.

Whenever possible, youth are placed in leadership roles in the group programs. One staff member spoke of finding "smaller opportunities for youth leadership all the time." Staff spoke of using more experienced youth to help in the instruction of group classes in varying ways. One staff referred to using more experienced youth as "co-facilitators" in his classes. This respondent stated, " Um, they're working with youth one-on-one. In fact, if I can't go, make it to class, they'll teach for me." Another respondent gave an example of young person is a "super drummer" and was getting bored in class while the instructor worked with beginners. This respondent further stated, " So the teacher figured out very quickly to use him as a teacher to teach other kids." While using more experienced students to help with the instruction of beginners seemed to be a common practice in the organization, these roles appeared to be informal and inconsistent across classes. Only one respondent talked about these roles as being formal in his classes, including structuring these opportunities as paid positions for youth. During program observations, I did not see youth co-facilitating. Of course this could have been due to the particular day I was there and not necessarily an indication that it does not take place. In a grant proposal, the organization talks about using youth at "teaching assistants" and "paid youth staff," however, this did not come through across all interviews. The

inconsistencies in implementation may be due to the fact that these practices appear to be relatively new, starting with the move to the new facility. In addition, if funding determines when paid-formal positions are made available to youth, the availability of paid positions may fluctuate with funding streams.

Additional leadership opportunities also arise for youth in the organization. Every program cycle, youth collaborate with one another across programs. For instance, youth who are taking a songwriting course will rely on their peers in the beat making and recording classes to finish their songs. Youth are regularly given the opportunity to share their expertise with one another. Another example of youth leadership happens on Fridays. Case 2 has been hosting "Freestyle Fridays," which is a loosely structured drop-in class to draw participants who are not drawn to structured programming. Youth that come on Fridays are asked to organize a monthly open-mic where they can showcase their work. Recalling a recent open-mic event, one respondent stated, "And what's awesome is that last one we had last Friday, it was all youth run. Like the kids picked the artists, the kids were walking around with the sign up sheets, they promoted it, it was their friends who came. So giving them, even small things like that, giving them their space."

The youth I interviewed also spoke of getting leadership opportunities through performing experiences. A staff person also noted this to be the case. For instance, respondents pointed to the fact that there is always a leader in a band. One youth respondent recounted the times she has had the role of lead singer in a band and reiterated how this has been an opportunity to exercise leadership in the group. Moreover, when

youth perform adult staff will provide guidance, but youth almost always make the final song selections. While it is clear that youth get a number of opportunities to exercise leadership, one staff person points out that leadership opportunities in the organization are usually given to the "all-stars." This respondent went on to say, "You know we use the ones that have been going here for years who have really benefited from the program and their voice is useful, but they don't represent everybody."

As stated above, one of the domains in Case 2's theory of change and evaluation framework is community and civic engagement. One respondent admits that while this is an important aspect of the organization's theory of change, it is "not as well thought out as some other pieces." Reference to community and civic engagement was mainly made in the context of performances and the other opportunities youth get to share their expertise with the larger community. For instance, youth who complete the music technology course are hired as sound technicians by outside groups. Youth are accompanied by an adult mentor, but are considered experts in their core area. One staff member puts it as follows, "And then as youth have the opportunity and as they kind of progress I guess in their artistry, they can lead those things." In addition, the organization sponsors a number of community events throughout the year, and youth play important roles in the execution of those events.

Pressures to Adopt PYD

Case 2 was selected for participation in this study because it was perceived to have a moderate level of PYD integration. The pre-screening process assumed that the level of PYD integration would be indicated by an organization's commitment to the six

Cs of PYD. Key informants used the following criteria to identify organization with moderate level of PYD: less intentional about PYD (than high level PYD organizations), narrowly focused programs and some focus on youth leadership. Case 2 demonstrated commitment to five out of the six Cs of PYD: competence, character, confidence, contributions and connections. The missing C, caring, was not seen in the analysis of Case 2's integration of PYD. Although key stakeholders categorized Case 2 as having a moderate level of PYD, based on the six Cs, this categorization does seem to be accurate. Case 2 by most accounts demonstrates a high level of PYD integration.

Moreover, this study assumed adaptation of PYD would be associated with the types of isomorphic pressures faced by an organization. Normative pressures would be associated with substantive adaptation of PYD. While coercive and mimetic pressures would be associated with ceremonial PYD adaptation. Case 2 challenges this assumption. The organization seems to be facing both normative and coercive isomorphic pressures to adopt a PYD framework, yet in most areas of its work, Case 2 is integrating PYD in substantive ways. However, ceremonial adaptation is seen in at least one area. The organization in its formal structure (e.g., theory of change, evaluation framework, mission) explicitly names a commitment to community engagement. In practice, however, the organization does not have clear and consistent strategies for engaging young people in their community and in decision-making within the organization. The organization admits that it has not been intentional about including youth in decision-making in recent years. Case 2 would like to include youth in more meaningful ways across the organization; however, it has not developed a plan for how to do this in the

near future. In addition, the organization is committed to PYD principles and makes sure that its staff is trained accordingly. Unfortunately, the external training the organization relies on is not always available. Despite the organization making efforts to do its own training of its staff, it does not seem to happen on a consistent basis. In addition to isomorphic pressure, as discussed below, there are other factors that are influencing Case 2's integration of PYD.

Normative

Case 2 is facing a number of normative pressures in its implementation of PYD elements. The most obvious source of pressure is from the organization's staff. As mentioned earlier, all but two of the full-time staff I interviewed had youth development experience prior to joining the organization. Whenever possible the organization will prioritize youth development experience along with technical and artistic background when making new hires. In addition, the organization is heavily invested in making sure that all staff, full-time and part-time teaching artists, completes the local youth worker training. Of the resumes reviewed for this study, three staff had completed multiple trainings offered by the local youth worker training. Those who had completed the training spoke very highly of the training and affirmed that it has provided them with a guiding framework for their work with youth. One respondent stated that in addition to a guiding framework, the local youth worker trainings have helped him become very intentional in his approach to working with youth. This respondent stated, "But also having that really intentional approach towards everything; every minute from like when

the bell rings to when the kids leave; everything I do whether it's the way I wear my hat or the thing that I say or the poster I put up, like the [name of local youth worker training] has taught me all that stuff matters." Another respondent expressed that it was helpful to meet other youth workers during the training and liked that the training made participants think critically about "youth involvement." This respondent further stated, "I remember we did an activity where we all had to stand on a sort of continuum of no youth involvement to 100% youth-led or something. And so they would ask us different things about like where youth should be involved?" Positive perspectives on the local youth worker training was shared across all levels of the organization beginning with the executive director all the way to those working with youth on a daily basis. While the organization is not implementing all aspects of PYD (e.g., youth participation) in daily practice, the beliefs and values of the organization strongly align with PYD.

Case 2 worked closely with a group of arts-based organizations to develop a theory of change and evaluation framework for its work. Through this network, the organization adopted a theory of change that reflects the PYD knowledge base and takes a holistic view of work with youth. Interestingly, the organization points out that the evaluation framework that came out of the youth arts evaluation project was essentially what Case 2 had been using for more than 12 years. In other words, the experience affirmed the organization's approach to working with youth, but it did not transform its approach in major ways.

Coercive

A majority of the organization's funding comes from foundations. The remaining of its funding comes from public sources, individuals and events. It appears that in terms of institutional funders, most of them support the organization because of its combined focus on youth development and the arts. Several of Case 2's major funders at the time of data collection had made multi-year commitments to the organization to support the organization's move to the new facility and subsequent program expansion. It was not clear, however, if funders require that the organization incorporate certain aspects of youth development more than others.

A local foundation initiated and supported the youth arts evaluation project, which brought together arts-based youth development organizations to develop a common evaluation framework and tools. This project involved a review of the latest PYD literature and research. Through this initiative, participants aligned their theory of change and evaluation tools with the latest thinking in the field. It is not clear, however, if organizations received an increase in funding once the organizations adopted the new evaluation framework. The interview with the foundation that supported this project did not reveal further information on this topic. Unfortunately, the staff person involved in the project was no longer with the foundation.

Mimetic

There are several arts-based youth development organizations in the city. None of them, however, have the same model as Case 2. There are organizations that offer drop-in

music classes as part of a local initiative that aims to make music more widely available to urban youth. Leading youth development organizations run these programs or "clubhouses." One respondent pointed out that the clubhouses tend to be "drop-in" programs and are less structured than the programs Case 2 offers. This was not viewed positively, so there were no efforts on the part of the organization to restructure its programs to be free flowing. Another respondent talked about Case 2's "depth and breath" of programming as distinguishing it from other arts-based youth development organizations. This staff person stated that what is available to youth at the organization is "only comparable to what they would get in a university setting." This respondent also differentiated Case 2 from other arts-based organizations by pointing to its focus on youth development. This respondent stated, "I take kids into the program to make the best possible youth out of them. If they end up coming out of that wanting to be recording engineers that's, that's great, but that's not the goal of the program." This respondent and others made sure to differentiate Case 2 from other music-based organizations that focus more on participants' artistic and technical development rather than approaching the arts as a tool for youth development.

Out of the arts-based organizations in the area, one was repeatedly named as being one that Case 2 looks up to and respects. This organization was not viewed as a direct competitor, however, because it uses media arts to work with youth rather than music. While staff appeared knowledgeable of this organization's program model, there was no indication that Case 2 was looking to imitate their approach with youth. One respondent noted that Case 2 staff visited this organization after it moved to the new

facility. The main purpose of the visit was to look at their space (organization had completed a capital campaign a couple of years before Case 2) and see how it was utilizing it to generate revenue.

A couple of respondents talked about one local youth organization's strong youth development model. One of respondent voiced a desire to be more like this organization. This respondent stated:

> So, I get a little bit jealous of them because they get to do all types of activist and stuff and like teach kids about real power in leadership and, and dynamics. And uh, they have a really great youth work approach also. They have a strong, icebreakers, you know group building uh, philosophy that's all around best practices which is awesome. Um, and I always, want to do more with uh, social justice.

No other respondent shared the desire to increase Case 2's focus on social justice; however, one other staff member did say that the organization's focus on community and civic engagement is not as developed as other areas. This same respondent also named other youth development organizations that are doing community organizing with youth as organizations she admires. This respondent stated:

> They might have arts pieces here and there, but they're mainly doing community organizing and I think when you get young people involved in community organizing that's probably the strongest youth development work you can do because you're engaging them to make change. So, I think it's amazing.

Despite this view, in my analysis, no evidence was seen of the organization moving towards greater integration of youth organizing (or aspects of it) in the near future.

Additional Factors Influencing PYD Adaptation

In addition to isomorphic pressures, other factors seem to be influencing the degree to which the organization demonstrates substantive integration of PYD. These factors include the organization's history and leadership, particularly the organization's executive director. Case 2 is also committed ongoing strategic planning and as part of these activities, the organization is continuously looking to improve its program model. The organization's founding was based on an asset-based perspective at a time when the institutionalized logic was deficit-oriented. Case 2 based its youth model on this belief. However, it has not been until the rise of PYD and subsequent work the organization has done to formalize its theory of change that it has adopted PYD language to describe its work. This has then resulted in alignment between Case 2's formal and informal practices. In addition Case 2's history, the executive director's leadership has been instrumental in guiding the organization into more substantive adaptation of PYD. As stated earlier, the executive director firmly believes in training and is a supporter of the local PYD youth worker training. Additionally, the executive director ensures that the organization's daily practices align with an asset-based perspective view of youth.

Case 2 is committed to strengthening its program model to better integrate youth voice. In its latest strategic plan, under its programmatic goal that reads, "strengthen core

youth programming to ensure excellence in service for its primary audience," the organization states that it will "keep youth development core principles at the center" of its work. In addition, it states that it will "involve youth both by having them invested in programming and by engaging them as leaders and decision-makers in the organization." Due to staff transition in the middle of the planning process, beyond these principles along with a few others, the plan does not provide much detail. The plan, however, does state that the organization will focus on youth leadership by doing the following: youth retreats, include youth in staff retreats, youth teaching assistants and teachers-in-training and explore youth board membership. The new program director was tasked with leading further planning under this goal; however, this work was still underway when I completed the data collection for this study. Nonetheless, the strategic planning process presented the organization with an opportunity to assess current practices and begin to consult external sources, including PYD literature, to further shape youth participation in the work of the overall work of the organization.

Conclusion

Case 2's adaptation of PYD has been influenced in part by isomorphic pressures, both normative and coercive. The organization's staff plays an instrumental role in ensuring that PYD practices are embedded into day-to-day practices. As part of a theory of change process, the organization had an opportunity to consult the professional PYD literature to develop an evaluation framework for its youth programming. In addition to these normative pressures, the organization faced at least one related coercive pressure that resulted in more substantive PYD adaptation. The theory of change process Case 2

took part in was initiated and funded by a local foundation. This foundation required for youth arts development organizations to work on a shared evaluation framework. While the organization's practices did not change as a result of the theory of change process, the new evaluation framework grounded in PYD resulted in greater alignment between the organization's day-to-day practices and its formal structure. Although in most areas Case 2 demonstrates substantive PYD integration, there is some evidence of ceremonial adaptation. The organization has struggled over the year to maintain strong youth participation within the organization. In addition, Case 2 admits not having clear and consistent strategies for community participation. Other factors are also influencing the organization's integration of PYD. Case 2 has historically been committed to an asset-based perspective of youth. The organization tries to employ this perspective in its practices whenever possible. The shift to the new facility and subsequent growth in programming and number of youth served has come with challenges for the organization. Although Case 2 has tried to preserve its culture, some aspects have suffered due to the transition to the new building. In the old space, staff, including the executive director, knew every young person involved with the organization. The new building is a larger facility, which prevents the management staff from interacting with all youth at all times. Therefore, the organization has had to be intentional in not only creating spaces where youth are welcome, but taking the time to introduce themselves whenever possible to new youth. Case 2's executive director plays an instrumental role in ensuring that the organization's formal and informal structure reflect what she believes to be the most important aspects of youth work. These beliefs tend to align with at PYD framework. In

addition, the organization is committed to continuous improvement. Through processes such as strategic planning the organization is able to better align its program model structure and day-to-day practices with the principles of PYD.

CHAPTER 6: CASE 3 RESULTS

Introduction

Case 3 was selected for participation in this study based on its perceived level of PYD integration. Based on stakeholder interviews, Case 3 was categorized as having an emerging level of PD integration. This chapter presents the results for Case 3. As in the previous two chapters, the first section of this chapter provides the context for the organization, including a brief history, mission, target population, budget and background on the board and staff. The remainder of the chapter is organized using this study's conceptual framework. The section entitled "Positive Youth Development Integration" looks at the extent to which PYD is part of the organization's philosophy and approach to youth work. This section also looks at how the organization is implementing elements of PYD across the organization. The section that follows, entitled "Pressures to Adopt PYD," looks at how normative, coercive and mimetic pressures are influencing the organization's behavior in relation to PYD. This section also provides an overview of other factors that seem to be influencing the overall integration of PYD at the organization.

Context

History

Located in an urban northeastern city of the U.S., Case 3 was founded in 1975 by two youth workers. The organization was created to address the growing gang involvement of Chinese immigrant youth at that time. Two major concerns prompted the

founders to form the organization. First, they saw reluctance on the part of the Chinese community to deal with the problem. Additionally, the founders found a lack of services in the larger community to support this group of youth. Prior to the founding of Case 3, one of the founders was working as a youth worker in one of the settlement houses in the city. This respondent was specifically hired to work with Chinese immigrant youth. Recalling the time at the settlement house, this respondent stated:

> And so I was hired to work with them. But you know I learned something very quickly, that because they were getting into trouble, they were already court involved, this [Chinese community] community became very embarrassed… Because what happened to the model minority image… And you know, when you're immigrants you try to put your best foot forward because you, you're already sometimes um, people are prejudice against you, they hold you to a different standard.

Another one of the organization's founders also recalled a sense of embarrassment in the Chinese community. This respondent described the sense of embarrassment extending beyond the youth and onto the organization. This respondent stated, "And I think we heard that, even as an organization, like we're embarrassing the Asian community by even existing, because it means that the problems exist and that the community can't take care of it themselves." Despite this being the case, the co-founders remained committed to making sure Chinese immigrant youth had access to culturally appropriate resources.

After encountering an array of obstacles to serving this growing group of young people, the founders launched the organization. One co-founder recalled saying to one

another, "… we really want to be the decision makers and say that we want to serve the more troubled population and to have the resources to support our work." One of the founders recalled that summer job applications submitted on behalf of the youth were being thrown out. This respondent stated, "And so I came in the, came to look for resources and to my face everybody was real nice, but I learned later on that a lot of the applications that I had put in for these boys to get summer jobs and stuff like that were actually thrown away." This respondent went on to say, "And it was because they didn't want these kids to be working because they didn't trust them to be in someone's organization. And they were afraid these kids would do negative things." In order to fill the gap in services and to address a quiet, yet rising problem in the Chinese community, the two youth workers took it upon themselves to open an organization specifically focused on serving gang- and court-involved Chinese youth.

Case 3 served primarily Chinese immigrant youth until the mid-1980s. With waves of new Asian immigrant groups arriving into the city, the organization's youth participants began to shift. In addition to Chinese youth, Case 2 started to serve Southeast Asian youth, mainly from Vietnam and Cambodia. In response to this change, the organization dropped "Chinese" from its name and replaced it with "Asian" to better reflect the population being served.

The organization has always been located in the same area of the city. At the time of data collection, Case 3 had been residing in its new permanent home, located in the heart of Chinatown, for five years. Prior to this, the organization had been in what a respondent described as a "ratty, old abandoned apartment building." While the new

facility was being renovated, the organization operated out of two trailers in a nearby location. In contrast to the previous facilities, one respondent referred to the new location as a "very, very luxury place." The new facility is beautifully renovated containing ample office space, specialized rooms (e.g., dance, music and computer rooms) and plenty of gathering spaces for youth.

Throughout the years, the organization has remained firm in its commitment to serve the most at-risk Asian youth in the city. One respondent observed that while the focus on at-risk youth has been a constant for the organization, the pressing issues for youth have changed over time. This respondent noted that in more recent years the organization has seen a rise in mental health issues. This same respondent further stated that gang involvement is lower than it has been in the past; and noted that gang involvement has always been lower in the Asian community. Nonetheless, Case 3 respondents noted that the organization saw a rise in gang activity in the 1980s and early 1990s. One respondent recalled this time period as "scary." Another respondent also acknowledged that the organization's participants are different than in the past. This respondent stated, "And now um, it's more about like, I would say, the, it would be like just kids not having some place to go...You know they're out in the streets, they're like um, starting trouble, vandalizing, you know starting fights and stuff." Despite these shifts, Case 3 remains committed to serving youth who need it the most.

Mission, Target Population and Budget Size

Mission. Over the years, Case 3 has kept true to its mission. While it took the organization about 15 years after its inception to arrive at its current mission statement, the intention of the mission has always been the same. In order to keep the anonymity of the organization, Case 3's mission is not provided in verbatim. In short, the organization works to ensure Asian youth achieve their full potential. One respondent pointed out that while Case 3's programs have changed over the years depending on funding sources, through all the changes the organization has held steady to its mission.

Target Population. From the beginning the organization was established to work with Asian youth who were engaging in negative behaviors, mostly court- and gang-involved youth. Initially, the organization served immigrant youth from Hong Kong and China. With new waves of youth arriving from Southeast Asia in the mid-1980s, the organization expanded its target population to include Vietnamese and Cambodian youth. The majority of the organization's current population is Vietnamese and Chinese. At the time of data collection, the organization was serving approximately 500 youth ages 13-24 annually. Most of the youth in the organization are US-born and a smaller number are immigrants. Case 3 describes its target population as "proven risk or at risk" and "all other youth." While the majority of the youth participate voluntarily, a smaller segment is court-involved and mandated to participate. One respondent noted that although youth might be mandated to participate in a program, it does not be at Case 3. Describing the organization's interaction with youth who are mandated to participate this respondent stated, "But you know we try to say to the kids: you know what the probation officer said

that, but if you really don't want to come here and you prefer to go somewhere else, say so." As will described later in the chapter, the intervention for the organization's most at-risk youth or "core group" is different than for youth who mostly need a safe place to be at during the after school hours.

Budget Size. The organization has always maintained a modest budget. At the time of data collection, Case 3's budget was $500,000. Even at its highest point, the organization maintained a budget of under a million dollars. Case 3 explains that staying small has been a conscious decision on its part. One respondent pointed out that this decision has been a source of tension at times. This respondent stated, "What we also have struggled with, is a lot of times people, even on the board will say, oh you know why don't we get bigger? Bigger is not always better for us." The organization's funding includes a mix of public dollars and institutional sources such as the local United Way and private foundations.

Board

At the time of data collection, Case 3 had a nine-member board with varied professional backgrounds and experience. A majority (77%) of the members were Asian, specifically Japanese and Chinese. The organization's board chair was involved in the founding of Case 3 and admitted serving on the board at different points in time. This respondent stated, "As I've done different things, I've been board president off and on, when I'm in [city where organization is located] and when I'm not." This respondent went on to say, "And then I decided I needed time off, we put in some new people and

that was a few years ago and now, I'm back on the board as the president. So when they need me, they call." While an exact number was never given, several of the board members at the time of data collection had been past participants. In fact, one of the board members interviewed for this study, had been both a past participant and a staff member of the organization. This respondent recalled joining the organization at the age of 12 or 13 and staying as a participant until high school graduation. After graduating high school, this respondent worked at the organization for a number of years before going to college. At the time of the interview, this respondent had just joined the organization's board of directors along with two other new members. Describing the new group of board members the respondent stated, "And some of us were also staff members here. Um, so we bring that perspective. We're younger and we were former kids, most recently anyway."

Case 3 prioritizes board members that understand the work of the organization and are willing to actively work on what needs to get done. One respondent put it as follows:

> That once they get it, even though they may not be um, you know some of them are the ones with the powerful titles and the connections, they don't need to be on our board, they don't want to be on our board. We've tried that also and I think that the board we have now and in the past is more sort of a working board.

Another respondent emphasized how important it is for board members to understand not just the work of the organization, but the population it works with. To this point, one

respondent stated, “We want to make sure we’re surrounded by people who are supportive of this population and who are not going to all of a sudden get embarrassed.”

Staff

Case 3 had eight full-time staff, including the executive director and office manager, at the time of data collection. Staff resembled the youth served by the organization. All staff members were either Chinese or Vietnamese. Not all staff members were U.S. born; similarly to the youth, some were immigrants to the country. Among the staff there was linguistic diversity, including a number of Chinese dialects (Cantonese, Fukonese and Mandarin) and Vietnamese.

Case 3 spoke highly of its ability to retain staff, including those who work directly with youth. Respondents repeatedly credited the high retention rate to the fact that many of the organization’s staff members were past youth participants. All four staff members interviewed for this study were past participants. Of the four staff members interviewed, two had been on staff for 20 years, one for 12 years and one for seven years. One respondent related the lower staff turnover among past participants to their ability to understand Case 3’s work in a way that others cannot. This respondent stated, “Because we all get it, we all get it because we all got it…we all got it from our counselors, and we all got it from our counselors, and we all get that. People that you hire, it’s hard.” This respondent went on to explain how staff members tend to jokingly refer to the organization as a “cult.” Expanding on this point the respondent went on to explain that

staff and youth alike know what is expected of them. This respondent gave the following examples of how this plays out in the organization:

> So, we have kids ho have, who are special needs or who have, and you know what, everybody pitches to help. They'll play with them, right even with kids who are very, like behavioral issues where we're like, oh my god, please don't act out, please don't act out. And you know what? The other kids play with them because we've had that conversation. Is that they're part of the family. You don't have to love them, we don't all love our family members, but guess what? We're respectful, we're helpful, we're supportive of each other.

Another respondent explained how seamless it is to go from being a participant to a staff member of the organization. This respondent stated, "I can probably speak for some of the other staff here, that it feels very natural to go from a kid to more of a senior kid, chaperone, kind of, type of role model and then officially to a paid staff member. I think that formula has worked well for us." This respondent further explained that it is not a written policy of the organization to hire past participants; however, from this respondent's perspective, this practice has benefitted Case 3.

A number of specific qualities were named as being important for staff to have in order to work at the organization. Repeatedly, it was stated that an essential for staff is a passion for working with youth and helping people. One respondent stated:

> Yeah definitely have to like kids, you know like I think the type of work we do, we kind of like and the pay, have to appreciate it so other people who I think work

> with kids have to have the passion for it. You have to have the passion to work with kids, not because the pay of course.

Similarly, another respondent stated, "You know truly a passion to, to help people. And, and, and a passion for, for teenagers because they're, they're definitely a unique bunch and if you don't like them, you can't do the work." This respondent went on to say, "You know and if you don't have the passion to help the job gets hard; you know it gets really, really hard." Passion was seen as important not only for doing the job, but for persevering through the challenges that come with the work.

Experience in youth development was not named as a prerequisite for working at the organization. Of all the staff interviewed for this study, only one staff member, in addition to the executive director, had past youth experience. The others gained experience while working at the organization.

Case 3 emphasized the importance of training staff. Staff participates in both internal and external trainings. Internal trainings very depending on what staff need at the time. At the time of data collection, the organization had just secured a clinician who was providing weekly clinical consultation and support to staff. One respondent saw this as training and discussed the value of this consultation as follows, "Even though we know a lot of it, but still there's nothing like having a clinician to hear about your cases you know, a fresh set of eyes." In terms of external training, all staff interviewed for this study had participated in several trainings offered by the primary youth worker training initiative in the city. While most of the staff found these trainings to be helpful, one staff member found the trainings too basic given the time this respondent has been in the field.

While acknowledging that the trainings on some levels are too basic, this staff member saw the benefits for less experience youth workers. In terms of the content covered in the trainings, this respondent stated, "I think you know, they, they're all very relevant and, and useful and you know, definitely um, good stuff for people to utilize in their work, definitely." The two staff members that had been at the organizations the longest shared that they had also completed supervisor trainings offered through the same initiative. One of staff members interviewed had also completed a yearlong intensive (10 hours per week) youth worker training sponsored by a different organization in the city. Participants in this training earned college credits. The staff member who completed this training went on to college, but did not complete a degree.

Positive Youth Development Integration

Philosophy

Values and Beliefs. The guiding values for Case 3 were explicitly articulated in the organization's most recent strategic plan. The value statements read as follows:

- To serve youth who have the greatest needs and limited access to existing programs and services
- To treat every youth as a valued individual and as a valued member of the [name of organization] family
- To provide excellent services and successful outcomes through innovation and creativity
- To address needs in a holistic and culturally competent manner

- To involve youth in planning, implementation and evaluation of programs
- To always foster the following values among youth, staff and entire agency: kindness, respect for others, responsibility, helpfulness, community involvement, and positive role of the family.

Several of these values were implicitly discussed in both interviews with staff and youth. In particular, it was clear that the organization remains committed to serving youth who have the greatest needs. While the organization serves a broader group of youth, "core youth" refers to participants who are facing the greatest number of challenges in their lives.

While Case 3's values were not explicitly stated in the interviews conducted for this study, the organization's guiding beliefs came through more clearly. Several staff members emphasized that in its work with youth, Case 3 believes that youth should be allowed to engage at their own pace. Staff finds this to be especially useful when dealing with proven- or at-risk youth. In making this point, one respondent stated:

> We zero in like hawks, but we want to make sure that we don't look like we're overcrowding them, or that we want to recruit them so quickly and engage them, you know we want to make sure we respect their need for checking out the place… we notice that when you leave kids alone and sometimes when they can observe or find a familiar face, much better than to force them to go into a room and tell them all the great things about us because they're not going to remember it all because they're just a little nervous… So we believe in giving kids space.

Initial contact between youth and the organization usually begins with a drop-in session. Respondents noted that while at first glance these encounters may appear unstructured, staff deliberately makes contact with the young person to begin the engagement process. In addition to these drop-in sessions, staff also conducts targeted outreach to youth who have been referred by the courts, schools or other institutions in their lives.

Related to the second value listed above, a key belief in the organization is that all youth are "good kids." The organization welcomes all youth irrespective of whatever behavior may have brought them into contact with the organization. One respondent described Case 3's views youth as follows, "In that we, it doesn't matter where you came from, how you got here, as long as you're here… You know, you're part of the [name of the organization] family." This respondent elaborated further by stating:

> And they're, they're um, all that stuff you know, we look past it; whether they're gang involved or like, if they're, they got in trouble in school or whatever. They're all good kids… You know and it's just, they need to be able to find their um, I guess their place.

This belief has been present from the start of the organization. Thirty-seven years later, this continues to be a guiding belief for the organization.

Repeatedly, respondents referred to the organization as a "big family." When asked to expand on what makes Case 3 the organization that it is, one respondent stated, "I would say it's very family oriented, caring and supportive of young people but in our own little way… In our own little way to help young people." This belief is reflected in the values listed above. Respondents, youth and adults alike, referred to one another as

family. This sense of family was reflected as respondents described the expectations Case 3 sets for participants. Youth are expected to help with chores around the organization just like they would in their own homes. Moreover, respondents emphasized that Case 3 believes strongly that youth should not be paid to engage in the organization. One respondent pointed out that this has always been the practice in the organization and stated, "… they [youth] don't expect that they get paid…Plus you know, they're proud to be a [name of organization] kid." Several respondents pointed out that young people are rewarded for their participation in other ways, including fun field trips (e.g., camping, snowboarding). While not explicitly stated, several respondents alluded that as members of the organization (or family) youth want to engage and, therefore, do not need paid incentives to do so. Occasionally, the organization will make an exception to this practice. If a grant requires for youth to be paid, Case 3 will sometimes acquiesce and pay some of the youth. At the time of data collection, Case 3 had seven youth who were being paid for their participation in one of the programs.

Approach to Working with Youth. Several themes came up as the organization described its approach to working with youth. First, respondents described Case 3's work as holistic. The organization also referred to its work with youth as long-term. Many youth stay engaged with the organization through high school and beyond. In addition, Case 3 talked about the intentionality with which staff approaches its work. In a grant proposal, the organization describes its approach to youth work in the following way:

> The agency's work is different in that our approach to youth work is to provide holistic and complementary services and programs to address youth's multiple

> needs and interests. We do not terminate participants after an activity or program but keep them engaged in agency services (including referral services) for 3-5 years, or until they graduate from high school/alternative education program, and need less intensive services but still remain a [name of organization] member. Youth counselors also work with parents and siblings of youth, as well as others who are in their lives, such as teachers, guidance counselors, mentors, peers, health care providers, probation officers and others. Youth are connected to a specific staff youth counselor/case manager to provide counseling and support services so that their needs and interests are addressed and monitored and modified as needed. The programs are youth driven and youth have significant input in what happens at the agency. We provide an environment that is "home-like" with rules, responsibilities, expected behaviors, sharing of tasks and opportunities, where youth and adults are respectful and caring of each other, services are intentional, versus a "drop-in" approach."

As seen in the above description, Case 3 places great emphasis on its one-on-one work with youth. The organization makes sure that youth, particularly its core youth, are closely connected to a youth worker/counselor. Core youth meet with their assigned youth worker/counselor at least once per week. This youth worker is responsible for ensuring that youth have the wrap-around supports they need to thrive. In addition to the one-on-one approach, the above description also emphasizes a "home-like" environment. Staff and board members repeatedly talked about the organization being like a home for

youth. Respondents stated that Case 3 feels "like a family," particularly referring to how staff interact with youth and the organization's overall expectations for youth.

Moreover, Case 3 referred to its holistic approach as setting it apart from other youth-serving organizations. One respondent made this point and explained that the organization does not think in terms of programs, but rather everything a young person needs to develop in positive ways. This respondent stated:

> Okay um, so again I think that's where we're special and, and, and we're effective in that we treat it as a whole person right? So that we're very holistic in our approach so it's not just about doing leadership development, it's not just about job skills training, it's not just about any one thing, but that we look at a kid as a whole person and figure out okay, you know, are their basic needs met? If they are then we move on up, right? Does the kid have resiliency skills? Does this kid have critical thinking skills? Does this kid feel connected to the community? So the connection starts here at [name of organization], we are the first community they connect to usually.

Several respondents pointed to Case 3's work with family, peers and others in the lives of youth to explain what the organization's holistic approach looked like in practice. Discussing the experience of youth at the organization, one respondent stated, "They feel the love and attention, caring here. And continuing, um the focus is you know it's not just, like I said, not just training but also family, meeting with parents um, the school." The organization works across systems to make sure young people receive the supports they need to be successful.

In addition, Case 3 described its approach to youth work as intentional and purposeful. Several respondents pointed out that while the interaction or experience for youth may at times seem unstructured, staff is intentional in their work. One respondent talked about staff meetings often being lengthy. This respondent stated, “Because it’s like we’re so, I don’t know we won’t let go of things, we’ve got to make sure, is this going to be okay? What’s the plan? Who’s going to go and why?” Staff meetings are often lengthy to ensure that everyone understand why something is happening or why certain decisions have been made about a particular participant. The same respondent as above went on to explain how Case 3 selects youth to attend certain field trips. Although youth are told that names are randomly selected, in reality, staff determines which youth will benefit from participating in that particular trip. At times the selection is motivated by the desire to build relationships among youth who may not be getting along. Other times the selection is made to increase a young person’s connection to the organization.

Moreover, Case 3 is intentional in how it first builds relationships and connections with youth. Several respondents pointed out that when new youth come to the organization every staff introduces himself or herself to that young person. A staff member who was once a participant remembered this approach working for him. This respondent recalled being approached by a staff person when he first walked into the organization. On this respondent’s first day, Case 3 was hosting a holiday party. Despite it being this respondent’s first time at the organization, the staff person made sure that he received a gift along with all the other youth in attendance that day. Recalling this event, this respondent stated, “And you know, from that, from that day I was like, I was hooked

in…I was a [name of organization] kid." For this respondent that initial interaction was critical in establishing the connection with the organization.

Practice

Programs. Case 3 offers a mix of one-on-one and group programming. One-on-one programming was interchangeably referred to as case management and counseling. Group programing or projects at the organization vary over time. The organization lists a number of programs on its website: after-school teen center, educational and employment services, creative arts workshops, individual and family counseling services, leadership training and opportunities, multimedia and technology workshops, prevention and intervention programs, and youth development programs. During the interviews, however, staff did not talk about the organization's programs using all of these categories. Respondents tended to elaborate specifically on the program or project each was running at the time. It was clear that group programs vary over time and are informed mainly by funding.

Case 3 referred to one-on-one programming as its "core work." A respondent pointed out that youth's most pressing needs need to be addressed before they can be successful in any of the organization's other programs. This respondent stated:

> So, if they're, they're about to be homeless you know, I don't care what leadership program they're in, they're probably not going to be doing well in it so we need to address that first… If they have depression issues, they can't thrive in a program like that so we have to address that first.

Each staff member has a caseload that ranges anywhere from eight to thirty youth. The youth receiving individualized counseling are considered the Case 3's core participants. Core participants meet with their assigned counselor once or twice a week. In addition to the one-on-one program, participants are expected to take part in the organization's group programming. When asked to elaborate on what the work with core participants is like, the same respondent as above stated, "The core kids are the kids I'll see and I have a plan for and I follow the plan." While youth are actively in the core group, staff describes the work with them as both intense and intentional.

The one-on-one work with youth seems to lead to a lasting relationship between participants and the organization. Staff members often referred to participants as "my kids." Respondents explained that youth who complete their intense work occasionally come back to the organization when they need support. The relationship seems to extend to adulthood for some participants. A respondent who was serving on the board at the time of the interview and had been a youth participant talked about his connection with Case 3 lasting through his college years to the present. All staff attended his wedding and one staff member served as his best man.

Throughout the data collection process, more specifics emerged on seven distinct group programs. These programs were as follows: 1) Teens Going Healthy; 2) Underage Drinking Prevention; 3) Teens in Action (civic engagement program); 4) GED Preparation Program; 5) Change through the Arts; 6) Tutoring Program; and 7) Girls Program. Moreover, one respondent talked about a grant that is focused on helping youth complete high school and transition to post-secondary education. This respondent

discussed this work in connection with the GED Preparation Program, which helps youth who have dropped out obtain a high school equivalency degree. It was never clear, however, if these were complementary or separate programs.

Two of the programs listed above, Teens Going Healthy and Underage Drinking Prevention, fall under the "prevention and intervention programs" as referred to in the organization's website. These programs meet once per week and include a series of activities. Teens Going Healthy provides youth with information and skills on healthy eating and exercise. Program activities include workshops, group exercise and cooking classes. The program addressing underage drinking works with Mothers Against Drunk Driving. Together with staff youth work to enforce the message that underage drinking is illegal. To achieve this, youth visit local liquor stores and talk with customers about selling (or purchasing) alcohol for minors.

Teens in Action is a civic engagement program that engages youth in grassroots community organizing and advocacy. At the time of data collection, youth were working on a campaign to lower the legal driving age. The GED Preparation Program has eight slots and meets four times a week. For the program, the organization specifically targets Asian youth because of the additional counseling the organization is able to provide. In addition, staff members are able to communicate with parents, who are mostly non-English speaking. Sponsored by a local foundation, the Change through the Arts program brought a group of youth organizations together to explore racial justice through the arts. At the time of data collection, Case 3 youth were working with a local artist on an art installation to bring together their learning and reflections from the program.

Commenting on this project, one respondent stated, “They are doing racial justice, so we try to send a message out using art form, like creating installations to send message, hey everyone is equal, man you shouldn’t be racist.” The Tutoring Program meets a couple of times per week. College students provide tutoring to participants who are need of academic support.

Lastly, the Girls Program is a gender-specific program and includes mentoring, skill development and other activities specifically tailored for girls. Through this program the agency has made gains, especially with girls and parents who want their daughters to follow traditional female roles. In addition, to these programs, at least one respondent talked about pregnancy prevention and smoke-free homes work, but it wasn’t clear if these were separate programs/projects at the organization.

In addition to the one-on-one and group programming, the organization hosts a number of trips per year and also has what it calls the “Afterschool Spot.” Trips include things like camping, snowboarding, and skiing. As long as funding is available, these trips happen on a yearly basis. The organization has been doing many of these trips for a long time; they have become part of Case 3’s “tradition.” One respondent talked about how staff members reminisce about these trips. Staff members remember going on these trips when they were youth at the organization. Youth are able to suggest new trips, but for the most part the trips are the same year after year. Staff will also organize activities that are more neighborhood-oriented or about giving back to the community. For instance, one staff person mentioned taking youth to a local agency that prepares meals for people who are terminally ill and cannot leave their homes. The organization also has

a basketball group that meets on Mondays. The purpose of this group is not just to teach youth the game, but also to teach sportsmanship. The staff person who runs this group stated, "You know respect, not just let's go play ball, I mean anybody can go play ball but we do it very intentionally like um, you know teach kids certain skills like how do you work as a team, but you know stuff like that." Lastly, "The After School Spot," refers to more of a drop-in center whereby youth have a place to "hangout" after school. The agency also puts under this program all the additional extracurricular activities (e.g., field trips, career exploration, workshops, special projects) it sponsors during the year.

Youth Outcomes. Case 3 did not have a clearly articulated theory of change. The organization's overall aim, however, can be derived from its mission statement. Case 3 aims to help youth "actualize their greatest potential" by helping them navigate adolescence. The organization achieves its mission mostly by establishing close relationships with youth and meeting their needs from a holistic perspective.

In addition to not having an explicit theory of change, Case 3 did not have a well-defined list of outcomes it is pursuing for all of its youth participants. One respondent referred to the outcomes the organization is pursuing as a "menu of things." Staff named a number of skills and other life outcomes as specific things Case 3 hopes youth acquire from participating in its programs. These skills and life outcomes included: critical thinking skills, problem solving skills, communication skills, teamwork, self-confidence, job readiness, educational success, and life skills. Respondents also talked about how the organization helps youth "broaden their horizons." This point was specifically made when staff explained the rationale for taking youth on activities such as skiing and white

water rafting. One respondent emphasized the importance of exposing youth to new things. This respondent stated, "And not just your immediate neighborhood or your circle of friend or family, but that you're willing to step out and try new things um, to be able to take on challenges and not be afraid to fail." Moreover, grant proposals contained desired outcomes for specific projects. For example, the youth outcomes listed for the Teens in Action program included leadership skills and increased civic engagement. Grant proposals also tended to list specific outputs (i.e., number of workshops) the organization was proposing for the duration of the grant period. Nowhere listed was a list of comprehensive and quantifiable outcomes the organization is measuring on a regular basis to evaluate the success of its work.

Adult-Youth Relationships. Case 3 places great emphasis on the youth-adult relationship. Focus on the adult-youth relationship begins the minute youth walk into the organization. On their first visit, youth are introduced to everyone in the building and given the name of a specific staff member. This is done so that youth can ask for that person during subsequent visits. Referring to this practice one staff member stated, "So the key thing is you need to be connected to someone." Another staff person described early interactions with youth as key to engagement. This respondent stated, "So we kind of get this little bonding, we kind of recruit them in that way."

Youth, especially the ones in the core group, are assigned to a youth worker. Core youth meet with their assigned "counselor" one to two times per week. As earlier described, staff work with young people on a number of things ranging from issues with school, court, and home. In the case that youth do not connect with the counselor

assigned to them, youth are assigned to someone else who might be a better fit with his or her personality. In some cases, youth may have more than one assigned counselor. This is particularly true for female participants. Female participants may be assigned to one of the female counselors if the main counselor is male.

It was clear that youth build strong connections with the adults in the organization. Youth respondents and a past participant (who is now a board member) spoke positively about their relationship with adult staff. One young person referred to his counselor as a parent figure. This respondent stated, "I feel like [name of youth worker] is my second father somehow, because whenever I have a problem, well parents are the best, usually are the better place to go." This same youth explained why at times it is helpful to confide in his youth worker in addition to his parents. He explained how there are times that he likes to share his experiences with his youth worker:

> Of what I experience and the, so I might get two different answers you know, from [name of youth worker] and from my parents and I'm able to analyze and then figure out. Also, also the difference is my parents are from China so they, their thought is really different compared to the people here. Especially [name of youth worker] who was born here as well so I can basically like get a different kind of message then actually you know I can just, it just helps me a lot…

Similarly, another youth respondent stated, "I feel free here, like I said before, yeah. And I can talk to them about anything." The board member who had once been a youth participant sees two of the oldest staff members in "mama and papa roles." For this

respondent, these two staff members continue to be parent-figures and role models to this day.

Youth and staff alike mentioned that there is openness in their interactions with one another. A staff member stated, "Yeah if they don't like something, they'll be the first people to tell us. They can be very like, like vultures and stuff." Staff noted that youth have no problem sharing with staff when something is not working.

Several aspects of the organization seem to contribute to strong adult-youth relationships. One respondent referenced the size of the organization as a contributing factor. This respondent stated:

> I don't know I feel like that, that is something that is more unique to a smaller organization like us. Whereas with a larger organization you get a lot of kids coming and going and you know they just have a massive census. And it's harder to get on a you know, one-to-one kind of personal level with some of these kids and I think that works in our favor actually…

Most respondents mentioned the organization feeling "like family" when explaining the dynamics of the youth-adult relationships. One youth stated, "You have the family feeling here…"Another respondent explained how the staff will often sit in the kitchen with youth to share meals. This respondent stated, "Yeah we sit there, we have conversations like family." In addition to the structured one-on-one time, several respondents also described informal interactions that help establish close relationships with youth. Another staff person talked about having youth periodically sit in her office doing homework because they want to be interacting with her informally. In addition,

even though youth are assigned to specific staff, everyone at the organization treats youth as if they were their assigned youth. One respondent explained this further by stating, "We each play a role and so our kids benefit from being exposed to all of us in that way." Staff also explained that they try to create a caring environment with clear expectations. There are a list of rules that youth are expected to follow at all times.

Youth Participation. Case 3 values youth voice and incorporates it into the organization in varying ways. Respondents referred used "youth-led" and "youth-driven" to describe the organization's work. Both terms were also used in the organization's written materials. For instance, in a grant proposal, the organization writes, "The programs are youth driven and youth have significant input in what happens at the agency." A staff pointed out that most projects at the organization are youth-led. Another staff, however, made a clear distinction between a youth-driven and a youth-led organization. This respondent put Case 3 in the youth-driven category, and stated:

> Because um, it really is youth driven, it might not be youth led, but it's youth driven. So like what I mean by that is um, whenever kids come up to us and say, I need a bank account, I want to know about like you know what it, how do I open a bank account? So instead of just saying, okay let's go, we're going to the bank, we're going to open a bank, we have people from the bank come over here to do workshops.

This respondent and others pointed out how the organization always listens to what youth have to say and responds accordingly.

At the time of data collection, there were no youth on Case 3's board of directors. However, at least two respondents recalled a time when youth were on the board. One respondent explained that the organization had youth join the board to fulfill a funding requirement. This respondent explained why it did not work to have youth on the board in the following way:

> You ask a youth to be on the board, they would sooner die than be on the board because you know teens don't like sitting there dealing with paper and all those other things and you know how trends are. In the past there were ones that they want clients to be on the board. They didn't believe when we said we tried that. None of them want to sit there at meetings.

This same respondent went on to say, "We try to explain it, but they [funders] always think that all parents and all kids want to be empowered and be on the board. Not that, not in every community or every individual, everybody does certain things and leadership means different things." Another respondent also remembered the organization having youth on the board for a number of years. This respondent stated, "Yeah, oh we did it for a while, year after year we would have a couple of kids on the board and the kids sit there, they don't want to be and we're all trying to be like, engage them but they don't want to be there." This respondent went on to point out that past participants now sit on the board; and stated, "These are some of the same people when they were teenagers, did not want to be on the board because you know the board is not what people think it is. It is sheer drudgery; we adults don't want to be at the board meeting. It's horrible." According to this respondent, youth would participate because they did not want to say

no to staff.

It was not clear the degree to which youth play a role in shaping the organization's programs. In a grant proposal, the organization states, "[name of organization] youth are not just recipients of agency services and programs, but are also active partners with agency staff in the planning, implementation and evaluation of services, programs and activities." This, however, did not come through as clearly during the data collection phase. Respondents gave examples of how youth help direct some activities in the organization, but did not give specific example where youth are involved in program design, implementation or evaluation. For the Change through the arts program, youth were helping to shape the art installation. Another staff gave an example of youth helping to plan the annual ski trip by calling resorts to find out prices, equipment needed and other logistics. However, a youth participant did not seem to have had this experience. This young person said that his counselor planned all activities, especially when they do one-on-one activities. This young person did not seem to mind this being the case. This respondent stated, "…[staff] know a lot of fun places around [city where organization is located]." For this respondent, therefore, it made sense for staff to take the lead in planning activities. When asked if youth participate in activities like strategic plans, one respondent said strategic planning was the work of the executive director and staff. In its most recent strategic plan, the organization noted consulting youth, but did not provide any specifics on whether or not youth were part of the committee leading the activity.

While youth do not seem to play an active role in planning at the organization,

both staff and board referred to the design of the organization's permanent facility as an example in which youth were very involved in informing the process. When it came to designing the new facility, youth were consulted and were instrumental in shaping the final design and layout of the building. Several respondents pointed out that the furniture, including couches and rolling chairs, were specific requests of the youth. There are also several "hangout" places throughout the building that were designed in direct response to what youth wanted the place to feel like. One respondent noted that the only two things the youth did not get in the new facility where a skating rink and a basketball court. Both of which were not feasible because of space and resources.

At the time of data collection, the organization was early in its implementation of its Teen in Action program. Through this program, the organization was training a core group of youth leaders on grassroots leadership development and organizing. In the grant proposal to the foundation funding this program, the organization described a series of activities the youth would engage in during the grant year, including training, visits to legislators and rallies. One respondent described the value of the civic engagement work as helping youth connect to community. This respondent stated:

> So the civic engagement piece, so all the, all the leadership development, civic engagement workshops and classes and programs that we run is really about helping them connect to the larger community, helping them take pride in the community and not have shootings here, and not you know, vandalize their neighbor's home. So that's part of helping them connect to that larger community.

This respondent went on to explain that connection to community starts by helping youth

first connect to the organization. This respondent put it as follows, "And we build a sense of community here so they, they have to say hello to everyone, they know everyone's name, they help take out the trash, they help clean, they help, you know, if someone' s holding a handful of stuff you know, can I help you?" The emphasis on contributions begins with the expectations Case 3 sets for youth in the organization. For instance, youth help staff clean the organization every Friday. One young person explained how he does not mind helping out:

> …I have not problem, I feel like it's necessary for all the members to do, to clean this place because it's a nonprofit. You know, we don't pay to get in this place, it's free for us and we have to do something back. It's the same idea like this organization helps us a lot and we have to do something we can for them.

Another youth explained that helping with the cleaning of the organization helps youth learn to be responsible.

Pressures to Adopt PYD

Of the three cases selected for this study, Case 3 was perceived to have an emerging level of PYD integration. This categorization was based on key informant interviews conducted during the case screening process. Key informants did not use the six Cs of PYD, instead they defined the emerging category as organizations with more traditional youth programming (e.g., tutoring, recreational activities, service oriented). The starting assumption of this study was that as an emerging PYD organization, Case 3 would be committed to only a few of the six Cs of PYD. Case 3 demonstrated some level of commitment to five out of the six Cs of PYD: competence, character, confidence,

connections and caring. There was some evidence that the organization, at least within its formal structure, was beginning to emphasize the missing C, contribution. Based on the application of the six Cs of PYD, Case 3 did not align with the emerging level of PYD categorization. By most accounts, Case 3 demonstrated a commitment to most of the six Cs, which places the organization at a high PYD level integration.

Moreover, this study assumed adaptation of PYD would be associated with the types of isomorphic pressures faced by an organization. Normative pressures would be associated with substantive adaptation of PYD. While coercive and mimetic pressures would be associated with ceremonial PYD adaptation. Case 3 challenges this assumption. Evidence points to both substantive and ceremonial PYD adaptation. In some areas (e.g., youth participation, program model), the organization remains loosely coupled. While the organization demonstrates a strong commitment to PYD in its formal structure (e.g., written documents such as program descriptions, grant applications), in practice the organization is not fully implementing all elements of the PYD framework.

Isomorphic pressures partly explain Case 3's adaptation of PYD. Staff is a source of normative pressure. Case 3 staff is instrumental in ensuring the adult-youth relationship, a key aspect of PYD, is both adopted formally and informally in the organization. In fact, caring, is the PYD element the organization demonstrates greater commitment to, in both substantive and ceremonial ways. Coercive pressures also seem to be influencing Case 3's adaptation of PYD. At several points in time the organization has adopted practices required by funding sources, some of which strongly align with PYD (e.g., youth board participation). However, the application of these PYD aspects has

been mostly ceremonial. In addition to isomorphic pressures, there seem to be other factors influencing the organization's PYD adaptation. Organizational history and culture seem to be informing the organization's actions, specifically as it relates to PYD adaptation.

Normative

Case 3 staff expressed a lot of pride in the organization's approach to youth work, specifically the adult-youth relationship (caring). At the time of data collection, all Case 3 staff, except the executive director, had been past participants of the organization. In addition, with the exception of the executive director, all had no experience working with youth when they started at the organization. Staff's approach to youth work appears to be primarily informed by their experience as past participants in the organization and from practice over the years. While all the staff mentioned having attended at least one of the local youth worker trainings (grounded in PYD framework), none gave concrete examples of how they are integrating the training in their work with youth. One staff member, however, mentioned seeing how the concepts are useful and relevant to youth workers. This respondent stated, "I think you know, they, they're all very relevant and, and, useful and you know, definitely um, good stuff for, for people to utilize in their work, definitely." While the organization's practices are not directly informed by the training, there was evidence that at least philosophically (beliefs and values) staff agreed with most elements of PYD.

Case 3 belongs to a number of networks. However, these professional networks

seem to have a limited influence on the organization. As part of Teens in Action youth and staff meet with a coalition of youth groups from across the city on a monthly basis. The focus of the meetings varies, but includes working on collective organizing campaigns. This network influences the actions of the organization as it relates to the Teens in Action group, but not other areas of the organization. Case 3 also belongs to a network of youth organizations that are working with youth who have dropped out of school and are working towards a high school diploma. Another network that was referenced was in relation to the arts-based project. This network of organizations is being funded by a local foundation to explore racial justice through the arts. While staff mentioned this network as important, there was no evidence of the network influencing Case 3's actions.

Coercive

Case 3 seems to be contending with coercive pressures, as it relates to PYD adaptation and otherwise. The organization's mission has stayed constant throughout the years. Case 3's programs and practices, on the other hand, have fluctuated. This fluctuation seems to be closely tied to funding streams. One respondent talked about feeling pressure from funders to report large numbers of youth served and demonstrate impact. This respondent stated that while the numbers served by the organization do not change significantly, the way the organization talks about the youth changes depending on what the funders want. This respondent stated, "…It's like, how would you like me to use the numbers? Would you like me to talk about this set of numbers? Or would you like

me to talk about this set of numbers?" Another respondent gave specific examples of how the focus of the organization's prevention programs has shifted over the years depending on available funding. Referring to a time when the organization was focused on anti-tobacco work this respondent stated, "Yup this was the '90s so that was big and I think recently you know it's transitioned to like obesity and teen pregnancy because you know, it kind of just evolves depending on what the um, the big hot topic is I guess at the time." At the time of data collection, a clear programmatic shift for the organization included greater emphasis on civic engagement, which is one of the elements of PYD. This relatively new focus was directly connected to available funding. One respondent stated, "…So once upon a time we didn't do much of any of that. Not so much the leadership but the civic engagement. And because we got the funding um, we connected with some people like um, [name of a local organization doing civic engagement work]." Case 3's application of this element was mostly ceremonial. A focus on civic engagement and advocacy was contained to one program in the organization. There was no indication that the organization planned to include youth participation in other aspects of its work; yet, in formal documents (e.g., strategic plan and grant applications) the organization talks about involving youth in program planning and evaluation. Yet, there was no evidence in the analysis that this was actually taking place.

Case 3 acknowledged that at times it adjusts its practices at the request of funders. Several examples were given where this has been the case. For instance, one respondent talked about having to pay youth stipends, despite this not being a common practice at the organization. This respondent stated, "We were forced to this time. It was like, if you

don't pay them then you don't get the money." A board member gave other examples of when the organization has adjusted its practices at the request of funders. This included hiring a development staff and placing youth on the board. Both of these practices seemed to be adopted ceremonially at the time and, thus, were not sustained by the organization after the pressure was lifted.

Mimetic

Case 3 considers itself as uniquely different from other youth organizations, particularly in comparison to other organizations in Chinatown. The organization referenced its target population as setting it apart from other organizations in the area. Referring to other organizations in Chinatown one respondent stated, "We relate less to that because I think some of the other organizations, they are still all about the good kids, so-called good kids." Across the organization there was a shared perception of Case 3 being remarkably different than other organizations, including those working with similar populations of youth. The same respondent as above stated, "Yeah, to us the kids are not just the kids, but they really mean a lot to us. And it's important to us that they are happy, that they are developing and even on their worst days, we still want them." Another staff person reiterated this point and stated:

> I say, I'm very proud to say um, the kids here, we work with, they're very respectful like when we tell them to do something, they do it. You know a lot of times that program, they pay kids to do uh, some programs. All the programs I'm doing right now, it's all volunteer.

This respondent further explained that other organizations are surprised that youth willingly participate in Case 3 programs without pay.

There was no indication that Case 3 is trying to mimic other youth-serving organizations. Respondents were hard pressed when asked to name youth organizations they admired. Repeatedly, respondents reiterated that there are few organizations like Case 3. One respondent stated, "I know that [name of organization] is the best you know what I mean?" Similarly, another respondent stated, "No we're that conceited. We think we're quite awesome." Moreover, at the time of data collection, as part of civic engagement and youth organizing work, Case 3 was working with a coalition focused on increasing youth jobs. One respondent mentioned that through this network staff has learned of a youth organization that had been very successful with some of its youth organizing campaigns. This respondent went on to say:

> And I think [name of youth organization] they're very big on civic engagement, they're very serious on their policy change. I think recently they um, they're working on try to lower the 16, age voting things and then you know, they got a lot of attention, they got media involved. They got um, they got their, their local representative involved. I think they passed some other law a couple of years ago, too so, they're definitely big on civic engagement.

While this specific reference was made, there was no indication of Case 3 altering its civic engagement to be more like the successful organization.

Additional Factors Influencing PYD Adaptation

In addition to isomorphic pressures other factors seem to be influencing Case 3's PYD adaptation. The extent to which Case 3 is adopting aspects of PYD seems to be influenced by the organization's history. Case 3 was founded from an asset-based perspective, which aligns with the PYD philosophy. To this day the organization abides by these values and approaches youth work from this perspective, especially with at risk youth. The application of this PYD element can be seen in Case 3's formal and informal structure. Culture is another factor that seems to be influencing the integration of PYD. Case 3 stresses the importance of the youth-adult relationship. Although youth have positive relationships with staff, youth respondents stated that they would not speak negatively of the programs and/or organization out of respect to the adults in the organization. Adult respondents also mentioned that youth defer to them when asked to participate in something. Referencing the time when youth were on the board, staff noted that youth would keep serving despite not being interested because the executive director had asked them to do so. In addition, interactions between staff and youth were described as that of a "family. Like in their families, youth are expected to show respect and abide by the expectations of the organization has for them (e.g., doing weekly chores). Formally, the organization emphasizes the adult-youth relationship as a key element of its approach to youth work (e.g., written documents such as strategic plan, grant proposals). This aspect of Case 3's program model is emphasized in both the formal and informal structure of the organization. However, the power-dynamic of the relationship may seem to go against what PYD would advocate (greater youth voice). If cultural differences

were not taken into account, it would appear that the organization is only applying this element in ceremonial ways. Unfortunately, the data collected for this study did not provide sufficient depth on culture in order to better understand the role it plays in the integration of PYD.

Conclusion

Case 3 demonstrates both ceremonial and substantive adaptation of PYD. The organization is dealing with mostly normative and coercive isomorphic pressures as it relates to their PYD adaptation. The organization's staff has been critical in maintaining fidelity to the organization's approach to youth work. Case 3 is committed to its model of youth work, which was established well before the PYD framework came into being. Staff is instrumental in ensuring the organization's approach to youth work remains in line with Case 3's original founding. Several aspects of this approach align with a PYD framework (e.g., holistic programming, quality adult-youth relationships). Despite facing a number of coercive pressures, mainly from funding sources, the organization has not steered very far from its original model. When acquiescing to coercive pressures (e.g., funding sources) the organization has maintained itself loosely coupled to the point where its identity has not been transformed, yet maintained enough legitimacy to receive funding. When the organization has been pushed to adopt new approaches (coercive pressures) to its youth work (e.g., adding youth to its board), these changes have not been sustained over time. In addition to isomorphic pressures, the extent of Case 3's integration of PYD is also informed by its history. Culture also appears to be playing a role in the extent to which practices are being embedded in day-to-day practice.

CHAPTER 7: CROSS-CASE RESULTS

Introduction

PYD integration was seen across the three cases. However, adaptation of the PYD framework was not even across the three organizations included in the study. Some organizations emphasized certain aspects of PYD more than others. Substantive and ceremonial adaptation of PYD appears to be influenced by several factors, including isomorphic pressures. This chapter presents the cross-case results for the three cases included in this study. The first section of the chapter looks at context across the three organizations, including the history, mission, target population, budget size and staff and board background. The second section of the chapter looks at how PYD is being integrated across the three organizations. This includes a look at the philosophy and practices related to PYD. The last section of the chapter looks the pressures that are influencing the integration of PYD across the three cases. Particular attention is given to normative, coercive and mimetic isomorphic pressures in relation to PYD integration.

Context

History

The three cases included in this study have distinguishing histories. The average age across the three organizations was 34 years old. Founded in 1968, Case 1 was the oldest organization (44 years), followed by Case 3 (37 years) and Case 2 (21 years). Two of the organizations, Case 2 and Case 3, were still under the leadership of a founding executive director. This was not true for Case 1; since the organization's founding, it has

had a number of executive directors. Moreover, Case 2 and Case 3 have always had a youth focus. Case 3 was established to address an increase of gang involvement by Chinese immigrant youth. The founders were responding to what they saw as reluctance on the part of the Chinese community to serve this group of youth. In addition, they identified a lack of services in the wider community for Chinese youth. Similarly, Case 2 was established in response to an increase in youth violence in the city. The founders were trying to provide an alternative for youth while simultaneously challenging the prominent narrative of the times, which depicted youth mainly from a deficit orientation. Case 1 did not always have a youth focus. Only a number of years after being founded, did Case 1 become primarily focused on serving Latino youth. A constant for Case 1, however, has been the organization's focus on the Latino community of the city.

Mission, Target Population, and Budget Size

Mission. As stated in the previous three chapters, in order to preserve confidentiality, the organizations' mission statements are not presented verbatim herein. The mission statements across the three organizations have clear similarities and differences. The mission statements for Case 2 and Case 3 have stayed consistent throughout the years. Case 1's mission, on the other hand, has changed over the years. All three organizations explicitly name youth as central to their mission. Two organizations, Case 1 and Case 3, explicitly state their target population, Latino and Asian youth respectively. Case 2 names "empowered youth" in its mission without specifying the racial and ethnic make up of its participants. This is due to the fact that the

organization was not set up with a specific ethnic or racial group of youth in mind; however, the organization has always been responsive to the youth that live in the geographic area where it is located.

Most telling across the organizations' mission statements are their differences. Case 1 has revised its mission statement over the years. The current mission statement came out of the organization's most recent strategic planning and theory of change processes. During these processes, the organization affirmed its commitment to Latino youth and became more intentional about its commitment to positive youth development. Both of these things are reflected in the organization's mission statement. For instance, the mission statement delineates four domains in which the organization is supporting youth: confidence, competency, success and self-sufficiency. At least two of these domains, confidence and competency, are explicit elements of PYD. The focus on success and self-sufficiency also align with PYD. Unlike traditionally grounded youth programming, Case 1's focus is on ensuring young people enter adulthood successfully. In other words, the organization goes beyond simply keeping youth from engaging in negative behaviors.

Case 2's mission statement is distinctively different than that of Case 1 and Case 3. Unlike the latter, in its mission, Case 2 places all point of action on the hands of the youth. Case 1 and Case 3, in contrast, begin with the organization acting upon the youth served. For instance, Case 1 talks about "supporting…young Latinos" and Case 3 talks about "inspiring Asian youth." Case 2 removes the organization from the equation and talks about "empowered youth" achieving change on different levels: individual,

community and the world. All sense of agency is on the youth and not the organization. Moreover, Case 1 and Case 2 go beyond the individual in their mission statements. Both organizations emphasize the role youth can play in changing their communities. In other words, the work the organizations are doing extends beyond the transformation of young people's lives. There is an explicit expectation that youth will be contributors in their respective communities. The emphasis on contributions aligns with PYD. Lastly, only one of the organizations specifies in its mission statement the medium it uses to work with young people. Case 2 explicitly talks about using music in its work with youth. The other two organizations do not provide this level of specificity in their mission statements.

Target Population. The organizations' target populations differed in several ways. There was great variability in terms of number of youth served and the target age group. Annually, the number of youth served by the three organizations ranged from 300 to 900. Case 1 works intensely with 300 youth ages sixth grade to age 21 each year. Annually, Case 2 works with 900 youth ages 7-18 and Case 3 works with 500 youth ages 13-24. In addition, the target populations were distinctively different when it came to race and ethnicity. Case 1 and Case 3 focus on specific racial and ethnic groups. The latter serves primarily Latino youth, a majority of whom are Puerto Rican and Dominican. Case 3 works with Asian youth, primarily of Chinese and Vietnamese backgrounds. Case 2, on the other hand, targets a more diverse group of youth; however, due to its geographic location, more than fifty-percent of the organization's participants are Latino.

Of the three organizations, Case 1 appears to have spent more time defining its target population. Through a series of strategic planning processes, the organization became clearer about the core group of youth it serves. The organization specifies that it targets primarily youth who self-identify as Latino and who live in the neighborhood where the organization is located. Prior to the last strategic plan, Case 1 had gone back and forth between serving primarily Latino youth to serving a more ethnically diverse group of youth, namely African American and Haitian youth. Case 2 was not founded with one specific racial or ethnic group of youth in mind. The organization has ended up instead serving as a bridge between different racial and ethnic groups of youth in the community. The ethnicity of the youth Case 1 and Case 3 work with has changed over the years. Case 3 has always served youth, but shifted early in its history from serving only Chinese youth to serving Asian youth more broadly, specifically Southeast Asian youth (Cambodian and Vietnamese). At the beginning, Case 1 served mainly Puerto Rican youth. The organization presently serves mostly Puerto Rican and Dominican youth.

Budget Size. The three organizations have had varying growth trajectories. At the time of data collection, Case 2 and Case 3 had recently moved to new permanent facilities. Meanwhile, Case 1 was situated in rented tight-quarters, which meant having to run some programming in additional space not too far from the organization's headquarters. From a budgetary standpoint, Case 1 and Case 2 had the largest annual budgets, $1.7 million and $1.1 million respectively. Since the late 1990s, Case 1 has progressively grown its budget. Case 2's budget grew steadily after it moved to its new

facility. Case 3's budget, on the other hand, has stayed modest throughout the years, never reaching the $1 million dollar mark. At the time of data collection, Case 3's budget stood at $500,000, which was substantially less than the other two organizations. While Case 3 argues that it has stayed small by choice, the organization admitted not being able to compete for funding as it had in the past.

Board

The three organizations had relatively small boards, with membership ranging from nine to ten board members. Of the three organizations, Case 3 was the only organization that did not highlight community representation among its board membership. This could be due to changes that have taken place in the city's Chinatown neighborhood over the years, with many Asian families moving out of the city or to more affordable areas within the city. Case 1 noted a similar change happening in its neighborhood and anticipated that it would be harder to have board membership reflect the youth served as more families are "pushed" out of the area due to growing gentrification. This raises important concerns for organizations that want to maintain deep connections to their geographic community.

In line with their target populations, the boards of Case 1 and Case 3 were mostly made up of board members that self-identify as Latino and Asian respectively. Case 2, on the other hand, had a more diverse board membership. This was not surprising given that the organization is not exclusively focused on serving one racial or ethnic group. However, Case 2's youth participants are more than fifty percent Latino. At the time of

data collection, Case 1 and Case 3 had past youth participants as members of their board. Case 3, in particular, seems to place great emphasis on recruiting past youth participants for its board.

Across the three organizations emphasis was placed on the recruitment of board members that have an understanding of youth work. Case1 goes a step further and explicitly talks about "passion" as a key characteristic of board members. All three organizations, however, expressed that it was important for board members to understand youth development. None of the organizations went too far in explaining what this means. How do the organizations assess for this commitment? What does understanding of youth work look like in practice? In addition to understanding youth work, Case 3 likes to ensure that board members are sympathetic to its target population, referring to at-risk Asian youth. Lastly, across the three organizations, a preference was for board members that are willing to do work on behalf of the organization. Case 1 and Case 3 explicitly stated that they prefer to have board members who are "worker bees" rather than just individuals with access to financial resources.

Staff

The three organizations had varying staffing structures. At the time of data collection, two of the organizations, Case 2 and Case 3, had founding executive directors. Case 1's executive director had been in this role for over ten years. Staffing looked different across the three organizations. Case 1 (10 FTEs and several PT positions) and

Case 2 (10 FTEs and 20 PT staff) had a mix of full-time and part-time staff, while Case 3 (8 FTEs) only had full-time staff.

While the staffing structure varied by organization, there was agreement across the organizations around one quality of current and perspective staff. Across the three organizations, *passion* was considered to be an important quality staff should bring to the organization. In particular, passion for working with youth was named by all three organizations. Case 1 elaborated on this point and stressed passion, particularly for working with Latino youth as important to the organization. While only explicitly stated by one organization, it seemed that passion was the one quality the organizations could not bypass when hiring new staff. For instance, a respondent for Case 1 stated that when it came to hiring, passion came before experience. Implicit in this statement is that passion for the work cannot be taught. A respondent for Case 3 explained that passion is important in helping staff weather challenging times (e.g., limited resources).

Two of the organizations discussed *commitment* as being something they look for when hiring staff. Commitment was explained differently by the organizations. Case 2 spoke of commitment to the mission of the organization as being highly important. Case 1 elaborated on what it meant by commitment. The organization explained that in hiring new staff, the organization looks for a commitment to positive youth development, youth and the Latino community. Case 1 was the only organization that explicitly named commitment to "positive youth development" when discussing the things it looks for when hiring staff. A respondent for Case 1 elaborated further on this point explaining that

a commitment to positive youth development meant approaching youth work from an asset-based perspective.

In addition to commitment, Case 1 and Case 2 also noted *experience* in youth development as important when looking to hire new staff. Case 2 emphasized not only experience, but also understanding of youth development as important to the organization. Despite the fact that a certain level of music-related knowledge is needed to work at Case 2, the organization noted that this alone is not enough. In addition to technical expertise, staff needs to have some level of experience in youth development. For Case 3, experience in youth development did not seem to be a considering factor when hiring staff. This may be due to the fact that the organization has tended to hire mostly past youth participants as staff. Staff talked about bringing their experience as past participants of the organization to the job. In other words, staff knows how the work is done because they were once on the receiving end.

All three of the organizations considered *training* of staff to be important; however, none had an institutionalized internal approach for training staff. Two of the organizations, Case 2 and Case 3, rely to a great extent on the city's premier youth worker trainings. Across both organizations, staff tended to speak highly of these trainings. Staff from both organizations had completed several of the trainings offered by the sponsoring organization. A senior staff at Case 3 found the content of the trainings useful, but noted that they tend to be more relevant for early-career youth workers because the content in some cases is too basic. Case 2 staff expanded on the value of these trainings by explaining that it gave them specific language on positive youth

development and helped to frame the work they do with youth from a professional perspective. Case 1, on the other hand, did not share this positive outlook speaking critically of the trainings offered by the sponsoring organization. Staff felt that the content provided in these trainings does not meet the needs of the organization. More specifically, Case 1 stated that these trainings fail to take into account the role culture and family play in youth development. For Case 1, these are critical omissions given that the two elements are central to its model and overall approach to working with Latino youth.

Despite all three organizations noting the value of training for staff, they all struggle to provide it consistently. Case 1 and Case 2 acknowledged not being consistent with the training and onboarding of new staff. When possible, both organizations try to provide a full orientation and training to new staff. When organizations are short staffed, time pressed or are facing competing demands, training falls off the priority list. Case 3 seems to struggle less with this issue, mostly because staff has been at the organization for long periods of time. Case 3 staff had been at the organization between seven and 20 years. Nonetheless, Case 3 tends to piece together training based on what staff need and availability of resources. A lack of resources for training was a challenge for all three organizations, which may point to a gap in funding for professional development for youth organizations.

As previously noted, Case 1 and Case 3 target Latino and Asian youth respectively. While the majority of Case 1's staff was of Latino background, this was not noted as an important consideration when hiring new staff. The organization, however, talked about ensuring that staff has a passion and commitment for working with Latino

youth and families, immigrant youth, and English-Language Learners. Case 3 was more specific and direct about the racial and ethnic composition of its staff. The organization works to ensure that staff is linguistically and ethnically diverse. At the time of data collection, staff was mostly Chinese and Vietnamese and spoke English, Vietnamese and several Chinese dialects. For Case 1, a commitment to working with a Latino population was more important than staff's ability to speak Spanish.

PYD Integration

Philosophy

Values and Beliefs. Distinguishing values and beliefs inform the work of the three organizations included in this study. Of the three cases, only Case 2 and Case 3 explicitly stated their values. Case 1's values were mostly tacit and were only once inferred to in the organization's business plan. As seen in the table below, there is limited overlap across the three organizations. All three cases shared the value of community/community engagement/community involvement. While the organizations share this value, the way they translate this value into practice differs greatly. Two of the organizations, Case 2 and Case 3, were upfront about their positive belief in young people. Case 2 refers to youth as being "brilliant" and Case 3 refers to youth as all "good kids."

Case	Beliefs	Values
Case 1	• Latino culture preservation important Latino youth success • Important to meet needs of youth	• Family • Mutual aid • Collectiveness

	holistically • Success is multi-faceted • Youth contributions important	• Education • Social justice • Civic engagement • Community engagement
Case 2	• Every youth innately brilliant and capable • Youth want to achieve excellence • Art powerful tool for youth development	• Youth • Music • Community • Excellence
Case 3	• Engaging youth at own pace • All youth are "good kids" • No pay for youth participation	• Serve youth with greatest needs and limited access to programs and services • Treat all youth as valued individual and valued member of the Case 3's family • Excellent services and successful outcomes through innovation and creativity • Address needs in holistic and culturally competent manner • Involve youth in planning,

		implementation and evaluation of programs • Foster values of kindness, respect for others, responsibility, helpfulness, community involvement, and positive role of the family

Table 6. Beliefs and Values by Case.

A value that was not expressed explicitly, yet played a critical role in the creation of all three organizations is that of social justice. All three organizations spurred out of a realization that something needed to be done to address critical issues in the city. Case 1 was addressing the need for culturally relevant services for Puerto Ricans that had recently migrated to the city. Presently, social justice is even more explicit in Case 1's work. Much of the organization's work is in pursuit of bettering the social condition of Latino youth, families and the community. In terms of Case 3, youth workers and allies created the organization to address the need for culturally and linguistically competent services for Asian immigrant youth. In its work, Case 3 is less explicit in its commitment to social justice. While the organization values community involvement among youth, only recently has it started focusing more intentionally on civically engaging youth through advocacy and organizing. Case 2 was formed in response to the negative youth narrative that was permeating the media at the time of its founding. Rather than being seen as villains and perpetrators of violence, Case 2 wanted youth to be seen from a

strengths-perspective and as contributors to the social fabric of the city. Case 2 is still committed to this idea, but admits that its focus on community and social change could be strengthened.

Approach to Working with Youth. There were clear similarities and differences in how the three organizations in this study approach their work with youth. Respondents for two of the organizations, Case 2 and Case 3, described an approach that creates a sense of "family," "second home," or "home-like" for its participants. While not stated across all respondents, one of the youth respondents for Case 1 explicitly referred to staff "like family" as she explained the way in which staff at the organization has built a relationship with her family over the years. While these themes cut across all three organizations, how respondents explained this concept varied by organization. For Case 2, the sense of "family" or "second home" seemed to be related to a second distinguishing element of the organization's approach to youth work. This second element was described as a "safe space." When looking at this closer, it became clear that Case 2 goes out of its way to create a space where youth can feel safe being themselves and, perhaps most importantly, a space where youth feel free, safe and comfortable taking artistic risks. This is particularly important for Case 2 given that its approach to youth work is intricately tied to the arts as tool for youth development. For Case 3, on the other hand, the sense of "family" or "home-like" is described more in terms of the expectations the organization sets for young people. For instance, youth are expected to pitch-in and help clean the organization just like they would at home. Where as for Case 1, it seems

like the sense of family is more tied to the extended relationship staff build with the youth's family, including younger siblings.

Across two organizations, Case 1 and Case 3, there was also an explicit commitment to working with youth for multiple years. Case 1 works with youth starting in middle school through high school graduation. At the time of data collection, Case 1 was working on firming up its strategy for post-high school engagement. Case 3, on the other hand, works with youth starting in high school. Youth stay involved with the organization for 3-5 years on average, but many maintain their relationship with the organization well past their high school graduation. While Case 2 does not intentionally use a long-term approach to its youth work, many of the youth involved in the organization stay engaged for many years. The youth from Case 2 that were interviewed for this study, for instance, had been with the organization since they were in elementary school through high school and college respectively. Long-term engagement happens across all three organizations, but only Case 1 and Case 3 make this an explicit element of its approach to youth work.

Case 1 and Case 3 both take on a holistic approach to youth work. Both organizations acknowledge that youth lives are complex and that successful youth interventions need to work across systems (i.e., schools, family, community). Case 1 emphasizes its work with families, siblings and schools when describing its holistic approach to youth work. In addition to families, siblings and schools, Case 3 interfaces with the juvenile and child welfare system when working with some of the most vulnerable youth it serves.

There were some distinguishing elements across the three organizations in their approach to youth work. In describing its approach, Case 1 underscores that in order to meet the needs of Latino youth, the organization works across four domains – education, workforce development, civic engagement and Latino culture exploration. Case 1 believes that the integration of these four areas improves positive outcomes for Latino youth. Meanwhile, Case 2 stresses the importance of creating a safe and judgment free space for youth. In order to do this, the organization makes sure that certain elements are integrated across all of its programming. These elements include youth-defined ground rules, icebreakers, and creative activities that promote engagement and youth's readiness to take risks as artists. Lastly, Case 3 differed in its explicit mention of intentionality as a defining element in its approach to youth work. While Case 1 and Case 2 would undoubtedly point to their intentionality in their youth work, Case 3 was the only organization that highlighted this element as core to its approach with young people.

Practice

Programs. The three organizations in this study are programmatically different. Case 1 has an integrated model that works across four specific areas. These four areas are considered interrelated and important in helping Latino youth achieve positive outcomes. Case 1 differentiates programming by age. In addition, the programs are structured in a way that gives youth increasing responsibility and leadership opportunities in the organization. Younger participants (middle school) are recipients of more traditional after school programming. Whereas high school students are given an opportunity to

participate in paid-programming with a focus on the following key areas: workforce development skills, career exploration, education, civic engagement and cultural exploration. As youth age in the program, they not only get experience in paid-work, but the positions come with greater leadership responsibility. Part of this responsibility includes active participation as civic leaders not only within the organization and immediate neighborhood in which the organization is located, but the city as a whole. Youth, especially older youth, are expected to contribute back in meaningful ways to the community.

Case 1's program structure provides a clear ladder of participation for youth starting in middle school through high school graduation. The organization's program structure sets a clear pathway for long-term engagement for youth. While Case 3 also emphasizes long-term engagement, the organization does not have clearly defined pathways for engagement that differ by age. In my interviews with youth, however, it was clear that Case 3 provides flexibility for engagement that allows youth the ability to juggle extra curricular activities in school and/or other interests while remaining part of the organization. This was true for Case 2 as well. However, Case 2 has some clear prerequisites in its programming for participation. Youth are expected to commit at a minimum to the class duration, which can be for 12-13 weeks, for one to three times per week.

Case 2 grounds its program model in the arts. All of the organization's programs utilize the arts, music in particular, as a medium for youth development. This is not the case for Case 1 and Case 3. As part of its integrated youth program model, Case 1 utilizes

the arts as a form of self-exploration. The organization uses the arts, Latino arts specifically, to help youth learn and stay connected to the Latino culture. At the time of data collection, Case 3 was running an arts project. Funded by local funders, the project utilized the arts for youth to explore and take leadership on issues of racial justice. Several other nonprofits, including Case 1, were participating in this same program. While Case 1 and Case 3 both use the arts as part of their programming, it is not the only or central program strategy as is the case for Case 2.

Another differentiating programmatic factor across the three organizations is Case 3's focus on one-on-one programming. While all three organizations value the youth-adult relationship, Case 3 was the only organization with a well-defined programmatic component intentionally focused on this aspect. For Case 3, the one-on-one case management or counseling, as was interchangeably referred to by the organization's staff, is at the core of its program model. At the time of data collection, Case 1 had recently hired a case manager to work individually with youth and families. However, Case 1 did not describe this component with the same intentionality and level of intensity as it came through for Case 3. While Case 2 described how staff goes about building relationships with youth, the organization does not have a program component specifically dedicated to achieving this goal.

Case 1 and Case 2 had more bounded program models than Case 3. As previously stated, the core of Case 3's work has always centered on the one-on-one relationships youth develop over time with staff. The organization has not wavered too far from this original program model, which in addition to the one-on-one intervention has included an

array of prevention programs designed to curve negative behaviors (e.g., substance abuse, teen pregnancy). In this respect, of the three organizations in this study, Case 3 is the one organization that is still delivering a more traditional service oriented program model.

Lastly, Case 1 was the only organization that had a well-defined program component focused on civic or community engagement. Youth participants, especially once they reach high school age programming, are trained in civic engagement and youth organizing. Case 2 and Case 3 value civic and community engagement; despite this being the case, their programmatic offerings around these elements were less defined. Case 3 had recently started to build this programmatic area at the time of data collection. This programmatic direction seemed to be partly influenced by a funding opportunity, so it was not clear if the organization would continue to actively pursue or develop this area of programming if resources waned. Case 2 did not have a specific programmatic component focused on civic engagement. However, in discussing civic and community engagement, Case 2 respondents tended to reference community events and performances as ways in which the organization ensures youth are contributing to the community.

Youth Outcomes. Up to a certain extent all three organizations were able to articulate specific youth outcomes each is pursuing through its work. Of the three organizations, however, only Case 1 and Case 2 had explicit theories of change. Case 3's theory of change was not explicitly expressed during interviews or written materials that were reviewed for this study. Not surprisingly, Case 1 and Case 2 were clearer about the youth outcomes they are measuring and how these align with their respective theory of change and programs. Case 3, on the other hand, spoke generally of outcomes the

organization hopes youth achieve, but did not seem to be evaluating its work in a systematic and ongoing way

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
Theory of Change	Explicit	Explicit	Implicit
Youth Outcomes	• Academic success • Competence workforce readiness/ 21st Century skills • Career orientation in internship field • Cultural knowledge • *Sustained improvements for neighborhood and Latinos*	• Personal development • Artistic development • *Civic and community engagement*	• Skills: critical thinking, problem solving skills, communication skills, teamwork, and life skills • Job readiness • Educational success

Table 7. Theory of Change and Youth Outcomes by Case.

Of the three organizations, only Case 1 and Case 2 had gone through a deliberate process for defining their respective theories of change. In addition to defining their theory of change, each organization developed an evaluation framework to track the desired youth

outcomes. Through the process of defining their theory of change, Case 1 and Case 2 consulted the youth development literature and integrated aspects of it into their respective evaluation framework. For instance, Case 1 and Case 2 track youth outcomes that capture the contributions of young people (see italics above) outside of their personal development. Case 3, on the other hand, articulated youth outcomes that focus only on the individual development of young people.

Adult-Youth Relationships. The three organizations expressed a commitment to creating a space where young people feel safe and connected to adult staff. However, the organizations were quite different in their approach to fostering positive adult-youth relationships. In describing the adult-youth relationship, Case 1 stressed both formal (regular evaluations) and informal mechanisms (accessibility to management staff) that are available at the organization for youth to give feedback. If something is not going well, Case 1 encourages youth to share feedback with their direct youth staff, while also making it clear that youth are able to access program directors and other senior staff to share their concerns. In addition, Case 1 develops close relationships with youth by getting to know not only the young person, but also their parent(s) and siblings. Youth's long-term engagement with the organization allows staff to get to know youth and their families.

In discussing the adult-youth relationship, Case 2 stated that it tries to maintain a low turnover rate among full-time staff and teaching artists, in order for youth to have continuity and the ability to develop meaningful relationships with staff. From the accounts shared by youth respondents, similarly to Case 1, Case 2 staff goes out of their

way to get to know youth and their families. In turn, youth end up feeling like staff really care and take the time to get to know youth. In another example given by a youth respondent, it was clear that staff at times extend their role, as needed, in order to support young people. A program graduate shared how the organization's executive director gave him a place to live when he found himself back in the US without his family. This young person referred to the executive director as a "second mom." While I only interviewed two youth for this study, it came through in all my interviews that staff go out of their way get to know all youth in the building. This practices has been harder to maintain since Case 2 moved into its new facility. The size and layout of the facility do not always make it possible to get to know every youth participant, which was not the case in the old building.

Case 3's model is deeply rooted in the youth-adult relationship. While the adult-youth relationship is important to Case 1 and Case 2, it is not as central to their respective approach as it is for Case 3. Youth, particularly Case 3's core participants, are assigned a youth worker with whom they establish a close relationship. Through counseling and case management, staff support and help youth access resources they may need to mitigate challenges they may be facing and, ultimately, to navigate adolescence successfully. The long-term relationship youth develop with staff results in a close bond, which respondents described as "family." It was clear that the connection for some youth participants stretches well into adulthood. One respondent, for instance, shared how his Case 3 "family" was present at his wedding.

Youth Participation. There was resounding agreement across all three organizations in this study that youth participation or youth voice is important to their work. However, the operationalization and implementation of this concept varied across the three organizations. Despite these differences, the organizations faced some of the same struggles when it came to implementing youth participation within the workings of the organization (e.g., board involvement, staff hiring). For this discussion, I will frame youth participation across two dimensions of organizational life: internal and external. The former refers to ways in which youth participation is embedded into the work of the organization ranging from opportunities for youth to provide feedback to the meaningful integration of youth voice in organizational decision-making. External opportunities for youth participation refer to the mechanisms organizations create for youth to contribute in meaningful ways to their community. Across these two dimensions there were clear similarities and differences among the three cases.

The three cases had varying ways for youth to actively participate in the internal workings of the organization. In addition to having different ways for youth to participate, the degree to which these were formal mechanisms for participation also tended to vary by organization. Case 1 was the only organization that talked about having a formal component in its evaluation that specifically asks youth to provide ongoing feedback. Through this evaluation mechanism youth are able to routinely give formal feedback on the organization, staff and programming. All three organizations, however, described informal ways in which youth are able to provide feedback to staff about anything that may be working or not working at the organization. These informal

mechanisms rely heavily on the quality of the adult-youth relationship. In discussing youth participation, not surprisingly, staff talked about creating a space in which youth feel comfortable and safe speaking their minds, including their views on the overall workings of the organization.

Programmatically, Case 1 and Case 2 provided a number of examples of how youth are included as active participants in the delivery of programming. The degree to which these practices were institutionalized in the organization, however, seemed to vary. Case 1's older youth participants conduct workshops for other youth, both within and outside of the organization. Internally, Case 1 youth provide workshops for middle school participants on a number of topics (e.g., selecting the right high school, time management). These workshops seem to happen on a regular basis. Case 2 respondents described ways in which youth are asked to help facilitate or lead class sessions. This practice, however, seemed to be inconsistent across the organization. While Case 3 did not provide examples in which youth are actively involved in the delivery of programming, respondents repeatedly mentioned that youth direct some of the programming. When looking at this closer, it was clear that staff was describing the ways in which youth provide input to guide the content of programs. For instance, Case 3 utilizes youth input to determine the content of workshops the organization may offer in addition to its regular programming (e.g., how to open a bank account).

The degree to which youth participate in decision-making within the organization was different across the three cases. This is an area where all the organizations seemed to be struggling. At least two of the organizations, Case 1 and Case 2, conceptually agreed

that it is important to have youth involved in the organization's structural decision making (e.g., board, staff hiring, and strategic planning). Case 3 was not of the same opinion. This organization seemed to draw a clear line between the activities that should fall under the realm of staff versus youth participants. For instance, Case 3 made a point to say that strategic planning should be left to the executive director and staff. While youth's input was considered important, youth were not part of the committee that guided the strategic planning process. This was not the case for Case 1 and Case 2. Both organizations talked about including youth as part of strategic planning steering committees. Case 3 also had strong opinions on the inclusion of youth on the board. The organization acknowledged having this practice in the past, but explained that it did not work because youth were not interested in participating. The organization seemed to be fine with abandoning the practice. Case 1 and Case 2, on the other hand, admitted struggling with the inclusion of youth participants at the governance level. While Case 1 did not seem to have an immediate plan to have current youth participants join the board, in my interviews it became clear that this is something the organization was still wrestling with. Meanwhile, Case 2 was actively trying to resolve this issue. At the time of data collection, the organization was trying to figure out whether to revive its youth advisory board or extend board membership to current youth participants. Both Case 1 and Case 2 acknowledged that involving youth in meaningful ways in organizational decision-making is challenging. Whatever the practice, it appears that one of the biggest challenges was getting to a point where practices are institutionalized. It was not clear if

this was due to a lack of resources or simply a result of competing demands the organizations face at any given point in time.

On an external basis, the three organizations have very different ways of approaching youth participation. While all three organizations emphasize community engagement and participation for youth participants, in practice these elements take on different shapes depending on the organization. For Case 1, youth participation on a community and civic level take the form of advocacy and organizing. On behalf of the organization and the Latino community, youth sit on a number of external committees. In addition, youth routinely are advocating and organizing to improve the lives of youth and in particular, Latino youth. The organization expects for youth, especially high school-age youth, to actively participate in community change. Case 2 acknowledged that community engagement is an area that the organization needs to strengthen. While community engagement is one of the three elements of the organization's theory of change, it seemed to be the least defined area of practice. Case 2 mainly named events youth participate in and help to execute when referring to the ways in which youth actively participate in their community. For Case 3, the area of community engagement again was of interest, however, the application of this programmatic element was relatively new. The organization had recently launched a youth program that focuses on helping youth achieve the advocacy and organizing skills they need to actively work towards improving their community.

Pressures to Adopt PYD

The three cases included in this study were selected based on their perceived level of PYD integration. The pre-screening process initially relied on the six Cs of PYD to determine an organization's level of PYD integration. A starting assumption was that the level of PYD integration would be associated with commitment to the six Cs of PYD. Organizations with higher level of PYD would be committed to most or all the six Cs of PYD. Findings from this study challenge this assumption as all three cases demonstrated a commitment to all or most of the six Cs of PYD. The six Cs of PYD, therefore, do not appear to be the best predictors of level of PYD integration, which aligns with the feedback key informants provided during the pre-screening process. Key informants found organizational characteristics (e.g., type of programming, commitment to youth leadership, intentionality around PYD) more helpful than the six Cs. The latter was seen as useful in capturing youth outcomes, but not the degree to which an organization is implementing the PYD framework.

Furthermore, this study assumed that PYD adaptation would be associated with the type of isomorphic pressures an organization was facing. Normative pressures would be associated with substantive adaptation of PYD. While coercive and mimetic pressures would be associated with ceremonial PYD adaptation. Findings from this study challenge this assumption in several ways. As seen in Table 8, all three organizations are facing at least two types of isomorphic pressures. Case 1 appears to be facing normative and mimetic pressures. Case 2 and Case 3 are both facing normative and coercive pressures.

Isomorphic Pressures	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
Normative	X	X	X
Coercive		X	X
Isomorphic	X		

Table 8. Isomorphic Pressures by Case.

This study's conceptual framework assumed that organizations facing normative pressures would demonstrate substantive PYD adaptation. While organizations facing coercive and mimetic pressures would demonstrate ceremonial PYD adaptation. Case 1 is facing both normative and mimetic pressures, yet the data points to substantive adaptation of PYD across most levels of the organization. Case 2 and Case 3, on the other hand, are facing both normative and coercive pressures. Both organizations demonstrated both substantive and ceremonial adaptation of PYD. While this study's research approach does not make it possible to measure degree to which an organization is adapting PYD in ceremonial or substantive ways, there was more evidence of ceremonial adaptation of PYD for Case 3 than Case 2. Case appeared more loosely coupled than the other two cases. In addition to isomorphic pressures, other factors seemed to be influencing how organizations are integrating PYD into their formal and informal structures. Factors such as history, culture, leadership and commitment to learning seem to matter. Although Case 3 shows uneven implementation of PYD in day-to-day practice (e.g., youth participation), the organization was founded using an asset-based perspective of youth, which strongly aligns with a PYD philosophy. Therefore, it is not surprising that the organization is adapting "caring" (youth-adult relationships) in substantive ways across the organization.

Both Case 1 and Case 2 demonstrate a commitment to stepping back periodically to assess their work and make changes as needed. During these processes the organizations have assessed areas where they are not fully implementing aspects of PYD (e.g. youth participation in governance) and have actively began addressing these gaps to achieve greater synergy between the organization's formal and informal structures.

Normative

A series of normative pressures are influencing the extent to which the three organizations in this study are integrating aspects of PYD. A driving force behind an organization's commitment to the elements of PYD seem to be staff. Across the three organizations staff play an important role in espousing and implementing PYD elements. Case 1 and Case 2 are explicit in their preference for hiring staff that bring to the organization experience in youth development. In all three cases, there was preference for hiring staff with passion and commitment to youth development. Case 1 and Case 2 also alluded to the importance of having staff that see young people from a positive perspective. While Case 3 did not explicitly state this as a preference, it mainly hires past youth participants. By default staff tends to adopt the principles that they experienced as participants. In addition, current staff members transfer to newer staff the most important elements of Case 3's youth development model. For Case 3, in addition to a positive view of young people (especially youth at-risk), an instrumental element to its model is the one-on-one adult-youth relationship. This element seems to surpass everything else in the organization.

At least two of the organizations, Case 2 and Case 3, rely on the local youth worker training program to ground staff in PYD principles. Staff, particularly Case 2 staff, spoke highly of the training and referenced the way in which it helps frame the organization's work. Case 3 staff also spoke positively of the training, but seemed to use it in less explicit ways than Case 2 staff. While the city's main youth worker training did not meet Case 1's needs, the organization acknowledged that ongoing training of staff is important to the successful implementation of the organization's program model.

Coercive

Although not always directly acknowledged as a pressure, funding institutions seem to be playing some role in directing an organization to adopt PYD elements. For instance, Case 2 underwent a theory of change and evaluation framework process with other local youth arts organizations. This work was supported by a local funder and resulted in the organization's adoption of a theory of change and evaluation framework that is grounded in PYD. Meanwhile, Case 3, at the time of data collection, had recently started implement a program with a focus on civic engagement and advocacy. A direct focus on youth contributions in this form was relatively new for the organization. It was not clear if Case 3 would be pursuing this direction in programming if the funding resources were not available. This is not to imply that the organization was not willingly taking this direction; however, a focus on youth contributions did not seem to be as central for Case 3 as it was for Case 1. It was not clear during my research if Case 1's theory of change process was influenced by a funding source.

Mimetic

Of the three cases included in this study, only one organization alluded to mimetic pressures influencing the organization's decision to move in a direction in which PYD elements ended up being more integral to its work. Throughout my research, Case 1 often referred to a "sister" youth organization in the area. The actions of this organization seemed to influence Case 1's work. For instance, this "sister" organization had completed a theory of change process before Case 1 did. In fact both organizations used the same consultant to complete the process. Case 1's respondents described the relationship with the "sister" organization as a friendly competition. This competition in some ways seemed to be fueled by scarce funding resources. Respondents mentioned that funders often compared the organizations and failed to acknowledge their differences. While Case 1 is the only Latino youth organization in the city, funders tend to think of the "sister" organization and Case 1 as one in the same.

In discussing mimetic forces, the three organizations tended to talk less about wanting to mimic other youth organizations and more about a desire to distinguish themselves from them. Even when Case 1 talked about its "sister" organization, it tended to point out specific ways in which it is different from the other organization. For instance, Case 1 is the only Latino youth focused organization in the city. Although the "sister" organization serves predominantly Latino youth, it is not with the same level of intentionality as Case 1. Case 2 and Case 3 named youth organizations in the area that they admire, but made it a point to note that they do not aim to be like those organizations. The need for the three cases to differentiate themselves from other youth

organizations may be closely linked to resources. It was not clear if by standing out from other organizations, the three organizations are able to compete more effectively for funding.

Additional Factors Influencing PYD Adaptation

At least for two of the organizations, Case 1 and Case 2, organizational planning activities seem to be playing a role in furthering the organization's commitment to PYD. Through a series of planning activities, including a strategic plan and theory of change process, Case 1 arrived at an integrated youth development model. Case 1's model addresses four areas of youth development, all of which the organization determined to be important for Latino youth's successful entry into adulthood. Meanwhile, at the time of data collection, Case 2 had just finished a strategic planning process. During this process, the organization raised important questions relevant to PYD. Specifically, the organization was looking at its integration of youth voice. At one point the organization had a youth advisory board that played an instrumental role in the organization's decision making. Through the years, Case 2's youth advisory board dissolved. Although Case 2 did not reach a conclusion on greater integration of youth voice at the end of the strategic planning process due to unexpected staff transition, this topic remains on the table for future discussion. Case 2 is considering either the revival of its youth advisory board or adding youth seats to the board. From these two examples, it appears that when organizations take time to step back from their day-to-day work, there is an opportunity to reflect and engage in conversations that can further an organization's commitment to

PYD. During planning processes, organizations customarily take time to scan the environment and opportunities to shape a future direction. Case 1 did exactly that when it was completing its latest strategic plan and theory of change process. After consulting the knowledge base on youth development, Latino youth and examining the work of other youth development organizations, Case 1 arrived at its current model.

Conclusion

The three organizations included in this study are quite different from one another. While there were shared similarities, there were also clear distinctions across the three organizations in terms of context, PYD integration and the isomorphic pressures organizations are facing to integrate PYD. Each organization had a unique founding history. Of the three cases included in the study, Case 1 was the only organization that was not established to serve youth from the beginning. Interestingly, of the three organizations, Case 1 was also the only organization whose mission has evolved over the years. The other two organizations, Case 2 and Case 3, have maintained their original mission over the years.

Across the three organizations PYD is being integrated in varying ways. While philosophically there were clear differences across the three cases, fundamentally there seem to be alignment across three values and beliefs: 1) importance of youth contributions (community engagement, civic participation); 2) positive view of youth and 3) social justice. The degree to which the organizations emphasize one over the other, however, differs. The departure among the three organizations became more glaring

when looking at their approach to youth work and, subsequently, the integration of PYD into practice.

The institutional pressures to integrate PYD into practice were not always easy to decipher. The most obvious forces influencing the integration of PYD seem to originate from normative pressures. Across the three organizations, staff, also seem to be a source of normative pressure that helps to keep organizations in line with their respective youth development model. Staff could play an even greater role in formalizing or improving PYD elements at each organization if more reliable PYD training was provided. Greater integration of PYD also seemed to be influenced by coercive pressures. Coercive pressures were less explicitly stated; however, it appears that funding can play an important role in moving an organization to adopt elements of PYD. However, adaptation of PYD solely driven by coercive pressures (e.g., funding) seems more vulnerable than if driven by normative pressures. For instance, it was not clear if Case 3 would continue building its youth advocacy and organizing program in the absence of funding. Mimetic pressures seemed to be less relevant to the integration of PYD in two of the three cases. Mimetic pressures seem to play a greater role in Case 1, where action that led to more substantive integration of PYD were influenced by the actions of its sister organization. All three organizations seemed to be more interested in differentiating themselves from other organizations than trying to mimic successful youth organizations.

Other factors seem to be influencing the adaptation of PYD in CBYDOs. Case 1 and Case 2 became more explicit in their integration of PYD philosophy, framework and practices after completing organizational planning processes. Through these processes the

organization explicitly defined their program model, youth outcomes and approach to youth work. An organization's willingness to step away from the day-to-day work to assess its work and plan for the future can influence actions that lead to greater familiarity and understanding of PYD. This can then lead to changes that lead substantive adaption of PYD, as seen for Case 1. Other factors such as history, leadership and culture also seem to influence the degree to which an organization embraces aspects of PYD.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of how community-based youth development organizations are responding to the paradigm shift that has come from a wider acceptance of PYD as an approach to working with youth. Additionally, this study sought to understand how isomorphic pressures are influencing the ways in which organizations are responding to PYD. This chapter discusses the study's three major findings: 1) PYD is influencing the work of community-based youth organizations; 2) implementation of PYD varies across organizations; and 3) institutional pressures explain some, but not entirely how PYD is being adopted in community-based youth development organizations. The first section of this chapter expands on these findings. The next section discusses the implications of the study's findings for practice, research and policy. Lastly, the chapter ends with a discussion on the study's limitations.

PYD Influence on CBYDOs

Influence of PYD

A PYD perspective begins with the premise that all youth need to be provided with opportunities that allow them to become confident and competent adults. This view moves away from a problem-based perspective to one that focuses on supporting youth so that they grow and thrive in adolescence and transition successfully into adulthood. One proposition of this study was that organizations would be struggling with two competing logics. On the one hand organizations would be dealing with a traditional

perspective, which focuses on preventing youth from engaging in negative behaviors (e.g., substance use, unprotected sex, violence). Simultaneously, organizations would be dealing with institutional pressures to align with a PYD perspective. While the cases included in this study did not always espouse the exact same values and beliefs, in principle all three organizations align with a PYD perspective. All three organizations hold an asset-based perspective of youth. Moreover, all three cases embrace approaches to youth work that embody many of the elements of PYD. The organizations are working on more than just curving unwanted behaviors among the youth they serve. They are working to ensure youth in their care transition successfully into adulthood.

Therefore, PYD seems to be the leading logic in the three cases included in this study. It was evident that the work of the three organizations is being influenced by PYD. What was different by case was how the organizations arrived at this PYD perspective. Of the three organizations, Case 1 was the only one that engaged in an intentional line of activities (strategic planning, theory of change, business planning) that led to the formal adoption of a PYD perspective. Case 2 and Case 3 were established long before the PYD movement took hold. Both organizations have remained relatively true to their original formation, which happens to align with a PYD perspective. Similarly to Case 1, Case 2 engaged in a design process that led to the organization's evaluation framework. Through that process Case 2 formally adopted an evaluation framework that is grounded in PYD. This process, however, did not radically transform Case 2.

Implementation of PYD

PYD is influencing the work of community-based youth development organizations. In practice the implementation of PYD elements, however, looks different across the three cases. New institutionalism theory argues that over time organizations in an organizational field begin to look like one another. This was not the case for the three organizations included in this study. The three cases were comparatively distinct from one another across four main dimensions. Programmatically the three cases were distinct from one another. All three organizations provided multiple programs; however, coherence among the programs was not present across all organizations. Case 1 ties its program offerings directly to its theory of change. The organization is intentional in the creation of programming that addresses four main domains: education, workforce development, civic engagement and Latino culture exploration. Case 2 also provides an array of programs that closely tie to the organization's overall theory of change. All of the varying program offerings help youth increase youth's artistic and personal development. Case 3, on the other hand, offers a collection of programs that aim to help youth participants succeed on a personal level. These programs, however, are not coherent and do not explicitly tie back to a theory of change. Case 3 admits that the organization's program offerings change based on financial resources. The only program element that remains consistent is the focus on one-on-one counseling or case management. Moreover, Case 3 still runs a variety of prevention-focused programs, which traditionally have focused on curving unwanted behaviors among youth (e.g., teen pregnancy, underage drinking).

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
Programs	Multi-dimensional; sequenced by age; holistic; long-term	Multi-dimensional; sequenced by age	Multi-dimensional; holistic; prevention
Youth Outcomes (Cs of PYD)	Competence Character Confidence Contributions Connection Caring *Cultural awareness*	Competence Character Confidence Contributions Connection	Competence Character Confidence Connections Caring
Adult-Youth Relationship	Adults build trusting relationships with youth and families (informal)	Adults build trusting relationships with youth and families (informal)	Individual counseling/case management (formal)
Youth Voice/Youth Participation	Informal and formal feedback; program delivery; planning; clear strategies for community and civic participation	Informal feedback; program delivery (not consistent); planning; some strategies for community and civic participation	Input on program content; newly established strategies for community and civic engagement activities

Table 9. PYD Application by Case.

Table 9 presents a summary of how the organizations are implementing PYD, specifically in terms of programs, youth outcomes, adult-youth relationship and youth voice/youth participation. As discussed above, the organizations varied in the types of programming they offer youth. A loose application of the 6Cs of PYD shows that the organizations also vary by the type of outcomes they are explicitly or implicitly pursuing with youth. As seen above, Case1 is pursuing all 6Cs of PYD along with an additional "*C"*. Case 1 sees *cultural awareness* as particularly important for the healthy and positive development of Latino youth. Case 2 on the other hand is in pursuit of all the Cs except for "caring." According to Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003), a focus on caring seeks to improve youth's empathy and identification with others. This was not outwardly apparent in Case 2, at least not in the same way as it was for Case 1. Most of the work Case 1 does around contributions or meaningful community and civic participation among youth heavily focuses on "caring." Case 1 works to raise youth's social consciousness so that they work to improve the social condition of not only themselves, but also other Latino youth in the community. Case 3 focuses on most of the Cs, with the exception of "contributions." It was not until recently that the organization started to pursue this focus. At the time of data collection this aspect of the organization's work was in early stages, therefore it was not overly apparent across the entire organization. Arguably, "contributions" is a focus for the small group of youth who are participating in the civic engagement and youth organizing programming.

As mentioned above, Case 1 singled out cultural awareness as an integral part of the organization's youth development model. The organization also pointed out that

culture is often left out of PYD trainings, particularly referring to the area's youth worker training. For Case 1, cultural awareness it is essential to the healthy and positive development of Latino youth. Awareness and preservation of the Latino culture is explicit in the organization's programming. Like Case 1, Case 3 targets a specific group of youth. Case 3 serves primarily Asian youth. Despite their similar focus on an ethnically and racially specific group of youth, the organization's approach to culture is different. Case 1 is explicit about its commitment to culture and its programs and overall approach to youth work reflects this commitment. Culture is also important to Case 3, but it is more of an implicit focus for the organization. In referencing culture, Case 3 talked about its approach to youth work. The organization thinks of youth and staff as family. In addition, Case 3 expects youth to complete chores at the organization (helping staff clean the organization every Friday) in the same way youth contribute to their households. Case 3 staff and youth talked about the role the organization plays in helping youth bridge the gap between their Asian and "American" identities. Case 3 youth talked about "respect" for the adults in the organization. When asked if youth are comfortable telling staff when something is not going well at the organization, youth replied that this is not something they would do out of respect to the adults. While culture is important for Case 3 in its overall approach to youth work, unlike Case 1, it does not have specific programming focused on the transmission and preservation of culture.

Youth programming grounded in PYD emphasizes "connections," which refers building and strengthening youth's relationship with other people and institutions (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). In looking at an organization's implementation of PYD,

particular attention was given to the adult-youth relationship in each case. Of the three organizations, Case 3 was the only organization that demonstrated more intentionality in this area. The basis of the organization's model is rooted in quality adult-youth relationships. To make this happen, the organization assigns youth to an adult staff that will act as the youth's counselor/case manager. While this can be seen as an organization's strength, it cannot be ignored that this aspect of programming puts the adults in the organization in a "caring" role rather than a facilitator of youth empowerment. The other two organizations, Case 1 and Case 2, value the youth-adult relationship, but are less intentional and formal in their approach to ensuring youth develop strong and positive connections with staff at the organization.

Across the three organizations included in this study there was a continuum of youth participation. "Youth participation is about the real influence of young people in institutions and decisions, not about their passive presence as human subjects or passive recipients" (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006). The depth and quality of participation varied by organization. Youth participation ranged from limited participation to youth (i.e., youth giving input on program activities) to youth having "real power" in making decisions and taking direct action (i.e., youth leading organizing activities). Delgado and Staples (2008) offer a continuum of youth power in community organizing that can be applied to the three organizations in this study. The authors offer four models (as noted in figure X) "along a continuum based on the degree of youth power and control over a community organizing or campaign" (p. 69). Model 1, "Adult-led with Youth Participation," refers to cases in which "youth are actively involved in change efforts as

participants, but do not share power, and there are no efforts to systematically bring them into power positions" (p. 70). Model 2, "Adult-led with Youth as Limited Partners," describes cases in which, "Youth decision-making powers are dictated by adults who are always the leaders" (p. 70). Model 3, "Adult-Youth Collaborative Partnership," refers to situations where "Youth and adults share power equally" (p.70). Lastly, Model 4, Youth-Led with Adult Allies" refers to situations where "Youth are in charge and adults play supportive roles as needed and defined by youth." In practice, organizations implemented youth participation across this continuum. At times the organizations fluctuated between models.

Of the three organizations, not one can be categorized under Model 4. Case 1, in fact, was very clear to distinguish itself as not being a "youth-led" organization. Case 1 did not operate exclusively under one model. For its younger participants (middle-school age), Case 1 uses more of a Model 1 form of participation. Youth are more passive recipients of services, in this case afterschool academic and enrichment programming. For older youth (high-school age) in the organization this is not the case. Older youth are granted opportunities to increasingly take on more leadership roles in the organization. Most of Case 1's approach with high school students falls between Model 2 and Model 3. At the time of data collection, Case 2 was operating mostly under Model 2. There was expressed desire, however, to move closer to a Model 3 way of operating. Case 2 was particularly interested in balancing the level of power between adults and youth when it came to the organization's governance structure. In contrast, Case 3 seemed to be very comfortable operating under an "Adult-Led with Youth Participation" framework.

Whenever possible adults seek youth input on activities the organization is organizing, but at the end of the day, the adults are in the lead.

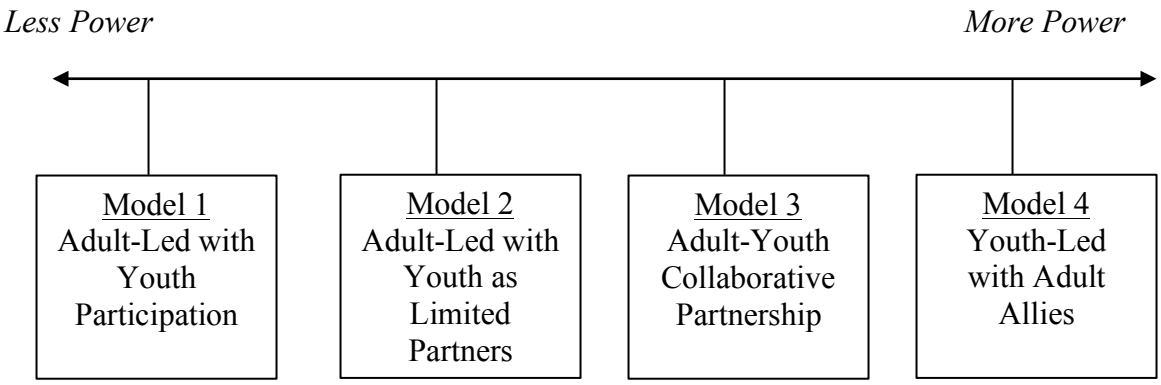

Figure 2. Continuum of Youth Power in Community Organizing (Delgado & Staples, 2008).

Isomorphic Pressures and PYD Adaptation

In addition to looking at the ways in which the three community-based youth development organizations were responding to PYD, this study aimed to understand how isomorphic pressures were influencing their responses. Based on institutional theory, this study assumed that for organizations facing mainly coercive and mimetic pressures, the adoption of PYD would be mostly ceremonial. For organizations facing normative isomorphic pressures, the adoption of PYD would be substantive. The findings from the study to some extent support these propositions. Case 1 demonstrated substantive integration of PYD in both the organization's formal and informal structure. While the organization faced mostly normative pressures (e.g., staff with youth development experience, strategic planning and theory of change activities), mimetic pressures also played a role in the organization's transition from a traditional youth organization (mostly

focused on the prevention of problems) to a PYD-grounded organization. At some point the organization lost legitimacy in the community, which created a level of uncertainty for the organization. To address this uncertainty the organization decided to engage in strategic planning processes to canvass the community and ensure programming was responsive to its needs. Through the strategic planning process, the organization became more knowledgeable of PYD. The consultant the organization used brought PYD knowledge into the process and, thus, was able to guide the organization in more formal adoption of a PYD framework. Mimetic pressures were also at play. Case 1 in several ways mimics one of its largest competitors in the area. A level of uncertainty around resources, seems to contribute to Case 1 replicating the actions of its "sister organization." This other organization is considered to be a successful youth development organization in the city; therefore, it is not surprising that Case 1 mimics some of this organization's behavior.

Similarly to Case 1, Case 2 also displayed more substantive adoption of PYD than Case 3. The organization thinks of its work in three intersecting spheres: personal development, artistic development and community and civic engagement. Through an intentional process the organization developed an evaluation framework that captures these three circles of influence. The framework is grounded in PYD. Case 3 on the other hand is not implementing PYD with the same level of intentionality. The aspect of PYD that mostly resonates with Case 3 is the adult-youth relationship. The organization is purposeful in the way it goes about building caring relationships with youth. Case 3 has at various points added elements of programming that align with PYD (e.g., youth on the

board of directors, civic engagement/advocacy) to fulfill funding requirements. Not all aspects of PYD have been sustained in the organization. For instance, at one point Case 3 had youth on its board of directors to fulfill a funding requirement. At the time of data collection, youth were no longer serving on the board. Unlike Case 1 and Case 2, Case 3 seemed to be more loosely coupled. In the grant proposals that were reviewed for this study, the organization presents stronger alignment with PYD. For instance, in one grant proposal the organization talked about including youth in program development and other decision-making in the organization. This, however, did not come through in any of the interviews that were completed with staff. In fact, in practice the organization draws a clear line between the role of adult staff (e.g., strategic planning) and the youth. This is in contrast with Case 1 and Case 2. As previously stated, both organizations were grappling with ways to include youth in more meaningful ways in decision-making in the organization, particularly at the board level. This concern did not appear to stem from coercive pressures (i.e., funders), but seemed be originating from normative pressures (i.e., staff).

Overall, findings indicate that the relationship between isomorphic pressures and PYD adaptation is more complex than the study's conceptual framework assumed. As seen by Case 1, an organization can face mimetic pressures and still demonstrate substantive adaptation of PYD. For Case 1, what seemed to matter is the organization's response to mimetic pressures. Case 1 reacted to the pressure of being more like its sister organization by taking the time to learn, integrate new program strategies and adjust day-to-day practices to better align with a PYD framework. This resulted in substantive

adaptation of PYD. Meanwhile, Case 2 and Case 3 show that ceremonial and substantive adaptation can coexist. In other words, areas of an organization can remain loosely coupled while still implementing PYD substantially in other areas of the organization. Case 3, for instance, was implementing aspects of PYD (youth-adult relationship/caring) in substantial ways, while others (e.g., youth participation) was being implemented in more ceremonial ways. It appears that coercive pressures influence ceremonial adaptation. For instance, when funding is the primary driver of a new strategy (e.g., greater youth voice/youth participation), the organization may integrate this strategy in ceremonial ways to secure resources. The strategies are then not sustained once funding ends. Lastly, findings show that factors other than isomorphic pressures influence an organization's adaptation of PYD. History, leadership, openness to learning and culture for instance may mitigate an organization's response to pressures to adopt a PYD framework.

Implications

Practice Implications

The implementation of PYD was uneven across the three organizations included in this study. Hirsh, Deutsch and DuBois (2011) found similar findings in their study of three after-school centers where they were looking at the implementation of youth development programming in three Boys and Girls Clubs. In their research, they found uneven quality across the centers. Hirsh et al. (2011) propose an integrative strategy to ensure the quality of implementation of youth development principles in after-school

settings. The author's recommend the following to ensure after-school programs achieve the principles of PYD: "(1) Have a strong, explicit focus on promoting positive youth development; (2) Conduct regular reviews of youth progress, including intensive case conferences; (3) Encourage collaborative mentoring; (4) Use training resources as a means of promoting reflective dialogue about best practices; (5) Have staff observe good after-school programming to learn more about best practices; (6) Form youth councils to ensure youth voice is heard; (7) Schedule regular external review and site visits; and (8) Require leadership to engage in regular supervision and coaching." Five out of eight elements of this integrative strategy are applicable to the findings from the present study.

As stated above, one of the elements Hirsch et al.'s (2011) integrated strategy is ensuring that organizations "Have a strong, explicit focus on positive youth development." This study's findings point to the importance of this element. Case 1 and Case 2 are intentional in their general approach and application of positive youth development. Unlike these two organizations, Case 3 had not gone through a process (e.g., theory of change, development of an evaluation framework) that allowed the organization to adopt PYD principles in intentional ways. Organizations need to be intentional in their adoption of PYD, which includes determining ways in which the principles of positive youth development will be embedded in all aspects of the organization and not simply programming.

Staff plays an important role in the diffusion of PYD in organizations. Despite this being the case, the three cases were inconsistent in the training of staff. Training was sporadic and not institutionalized at each of the organizations in this study. In their

recommended strategy, Hirsh et al. (2011) point to the importance of training. The authors propose the "use of training resources as means of promoting reflective dialogue about best practices." The authors also recommend for organizations to "have staff observe good after-school programming to learn more about best practices." These recommendations are supported by the present study. While at least two of the cases, Case 2 and Case 3, relied on the local youth worker training in the city, none of the organizations had a formal training protocol for staff. More formalized training would ensure that the elements of PYD most important to the organization would be standardized across the organization. Resources are an impediment to training. Funding dedicated to training staff is not readily available. Respondents pointed out that the local training for youth staff is only offered once per year due to limited financial resources. In addition to resources, the local youth training did not meet the training needs of all three organizations. There is need for more tailored and dynamic training for staff. Case 1, for instance, talked about the importance of including cultural awareness as a critical element of PYD. In addition, the organization thought that more dynamic training that included program observations and coaching would help staff improve their practice. Lastly, a "one-size fits all" approach does not work across all organizations. Staff with more experience can benefit from more in-depth training. Perhaps more experienced staff can be trained to serve as "coaches" and "mentors" to support junior staff. Supervision did not come up as a consistent practice at the organizations included in this study. Hirsch et al. (2011) also recommend that leaders dedicate time to supervision and coaching. Additionally, as Hirsh et al. (2011) suggest more opportunities could be created for staff

to observe programming that is effectively implementing PYD. However, it is also important to point out that training alone is not sufficient. Case 3's staff has participated in the local youth worker trainings, yet the integration of PYD is uneven across the organization.

One of the hardest PYD elements to implement was youth voice/youth participation. Meaningful inclusion of youth voice in practice is difficult to do. Hirsch et al. (2011) propose the establishment of youth councils "to make sure youth voice is heard." Whether it is youth councils or other mechanisms for youth participation, it is important for processes to be clear, consistent and intentional. In this study, Case 1 and Case 2 were committed to involving youth in meaningful ways in internal decision-making processes of the organization; however, in practice this was not always consistently done. In order to institutionalize this aspect of PYD, organizations need to establish clear protocols and processes that will allow youth to participate consistently in meaningful ways. For instance, if youth are to be included in the hiring of new staff, there should be written procedures in place that outline how this will happen. At what point will youth be involved? What role will youth play in the interview process? Which youth will be involved in the interviews? How will the youth be selected?

Moreover, if organizations are interested in having youth play a meaningful role in the organization's governance, serious consideration needs to be given to how this can be accomplished. Simply creating seats on the board for youth is not enough. Case 1 and Case 3 named concrete reasons why having youth on the board has not worked out for either organization. In some cases, the time of day when meetings are held matter. It may

be harder for youth to attend evening or early morning meetings. In addition to meeting times, organizations also need to dedicate time to orienting youth on what it means to be on a board and understanding the role of board member (e.g., fiduciary role). Moreover, board membership should be extended to more than one young person to avoid token representation. Ongoing support and coaching by adults would likely help youth stay engaged in the governance of the organization. If board membership does not seem possible, there are other ways youth can play important roles in an organization's decision making. As Case 2 was exploring, another option is setting up a youth advisory board. If an organization selects that option, it needs to ensure that the youth advisory board is not simply a form of token participation. A clear charge needs to be established for this group and there needs to be clarity in the role this group is expected to play in relation to the organization's board of directors.

In addition to the meaningful participation of youth in the internal workings of the organization, facilitating meaningful participation of youth in the community can also be a challenge. In order for organizations to do this well it is important to create specific strategies and tactics around this element. For instance, Case 1 is very intentional in the opportunities it creates for high school age participants to get engaged in advocacy and organizing in issues that matter to Latino youth and the Latino community at large.

Besides the implications this research has for youth work in general, this study also has implications for social work practice specifically. Of the three organizations in this study, only Case 1 had a social worker on staff. This staff member was a relatively new addition and had been brought on board to formalize and systematize the organization's

case management work with youth and their families. Given social work's strengths-based perspective, it is surprising that so few social workers were working in these settings. Case 3's model is heavily focused on case management; yet, none of the staff at the organization had social work training or other relevant training that would better equip them for this work. The lack of social workers in youth organizations is also surprising given the profession's historical involvement in helping young people, particularly in inner city communities. Settlement houses played instrumental roles in the early 1900s in the lives of youth. An explanation for this absence may be the profession's tendency over time to shift to a more clinical focus. Social workers may equate youth work to clinical interventions and not youth development interventions that are more broadly focused on the positive development of youth rather than addressing specific mental health or behavioral issues. "Social workers are strategically situated to promote youth participation, but many of them have been conditioned to "care" about young people rather than to empower them" (Checkoway & Gutierrez, 2006). Schools of social work could do more to train social workers for practice in settings that step away from traditional clinical settings to community-based practice that is more holistically supporting the well being of youth and their families.

Research Implications

More research is warranted to understand community-based youth organizations. Related to this study, more specifically, additional research is needed to understand what are the critical characteristics of youth organizations (e.g., structure, culture) to promote

successful PYD programming. Roholt et al. (2013) state, "focusing on organization as a primary actor in youth development gives rise to important questions about what organizational supports and legitimacy are necessary for effective youth development programs." While this study provides some insight into this matter, more research is needed to understand the inner workings of youth organizations. In addition more research is needed to understand how organizational change can be facilitated in order to create the necessary organizational conditions for PYD. As seen in this study, organizations are capable of changing to better promote the successful development of youth. Case 1 shifted from a problem-based to a strengths-based perspective over time. After becoming a youth-focused organization, Case 1 spent more than a decade concentrated on preventing problems (e.g., substance abuse, pregnancy) among Latino youth. Through a series of planning processes, Case 1 shifted to a PYD perspective and altered programming accordingly. This moved the organization away from problem prevention to supporting Latino youth's successful transition into adulthood. Findings from this study show that it is possible for organizations to go through this type of transformation. Additional research is needed to understand what the right conditions are for this type of transformation to happen in youth organizations.

While isomorphic pressures were seen at play to some extent in all three cases, institutional pressures did not seem to fully explain the actions of organizations. All three organizations talked about the need to "differentiate" themselves from others. While going through the theory of change process, Case 1 seemed more concerned with figuring out what aspects of its model made it unique in the city. When looking to other

organizations, Case 1 made sure to look outside of the city and not borrow from others too close to home. Case 2 and Case 3 were also quick to explain what aspects of the organization made it unique in the city's ecology of youth organizations. More research is needed to understand this aspect of organizations. To what degree does the need for differentiation impede the adoption of interventions that work? What is driving the need for differentiation? Is the need for differentiation closely tied to resources? Are organizations worried that if they are too much like other organizations they will not be able to attract resources?

Moreover, in this study it was clear that youth participation/youth voice at the level of organizational life is harder to achieve. Despite the desire to include youth in the organization's decision-making structure by two of the three cases in this study, implementation proved challenging. More research needs to be done to understand what are the organizational conditions that facilitate greater youth participation. Are there specific organization structures and characteristics that enable greater youth participation in decision-making within organizations?

At least one organization (Case 1) voiced dissatisfaction with the local youth workers training program, which is known for its substantive integration of PYD. Despite the integration of PYD, Case 1 pointed out that as currently structured this local training omits the role of culture in PYD. Case 1 also voiced a dissatisfaction of how little the training incorporates the role of parents in youth development, which is an important element of the organization's approach to youth work. Further research is needed to understand what is the most effective PYD training for youth workers? What is the

intersection of culture and PYD? How can PYD be more culturally responsive? Findings from this type of research would have important implications for PYD theory.

Policy Implications

PYD's influence extends to youth-related policies. It is not uncommon to see PYD language reflected in policies that affect youth. In order to effectively execute these policies, more needs to be done to understand the host settings of PYD programming. How are these settings facilitating successful implementation of PYD? It is important for research to not only focus on youth organizations, but also other settings that are playing critical roles in the implementation of policies promoting positive youth development. These settings include schools, governmental organizations, faith-based organizations and others that may or may not target youth exclusively. More insight is needed on the policy elements that can support and strengthen settings where PYD is being implemented.

Limitations and Conclusion

This study is based on three qualitative case studies, which limits the generalizability of the findings. The findings are based on three community-based organizations, which are by no means representative of all youth organizations. Additionally, the selection of the three cases was informed by interviews with key informants. Therefore, the selected organizations were ones most known to individuals in the community, which may skew the data to organizations that for one reason or another garner more attention than others. While this study provides insight into community-

based youth development organizations, more research is needed to further understand how these organizations are functioning as hosts of positive youth development programs.

The study's findings show that from a philosophical standpoint organizations have embraced a PYD perspective. All three organizations state that they are helping youth acquire the necessary skills, competencies and experiences for successful entry into adulthood. The focus of all three cases extends beyond the reduction of unwanted behaviors in adolescence. The assumed tension between the traditional approach to youth work and PYD was not present in the three cases. In fact, PYD, for at least two of the organizations, Case 2 and Case 3, has helped frame the fundamental belief that influenced the funding of the organizations in the first place. Both organizations were founded from a strengths-based perspective at a time when young people were not viewed in this way.

As predicted in the propositions established for this case study, the implementation of PYD varied by organization. Overall, more research needs to be done to further understand the role of isomorphic pressures on an organization's adoption of new practices. The depth and breath of PYD integration seems to be influenced to some extent by isomorphic pressures. Normative pressures (as seen in Case 1 and Case 2) seem to play a critical role in more substantive implementation of PYD elements. Case 1 and Case 2 displayed more intentional integration of PYD elements into programming. Case 3 was not as intentional in their programming. This organization also seemed more vulnerable to pressures from funders (e.g., adding youth to the board, paying youth).

Coercive pressures, however, do not seem to lead to the sustainable integration of PYD in organizations. As seen by Case 3, when funding requirements influenced the integration of PYD, the elements were not sustained over time. For at least one organization, Case 1, mimetic pressures seemed to be at play. The organization admitted mimicking the behavior of another organization it deemed successful. This seemed to be partly influenced by environmental uncertainty brought by a competitive funding climate.

The role of differentiation on an organization's adoption of new practices needs further research. All three organizations seemed preoccupied with differentiation. Distinguishing or being clear about their identity in comparison to other youth organizations was voiced as important by all three organizations. The role differentiation plays in creating more effective community-based youth development organizations and, specifically, as hosts of positive youth development programming is unknown.

Lastly, this study points to the important role community-based organizations play in the lives of youth. All three organizations are committed to ensuring young people have access to resources and supports that will help them be successful and contributing adults. The spaces these organizations create for youth are meaningful and have the power to not only protect youth, but help them gain the necessary skills so that they can advocate for themselves and their communities. Given the importance of these spaces, more research is needed to understand how these organization can better structure themselves to continuously improve and support young people in their trajectory to adulthood.

APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL LETTER

Boston University Charles River Campus Institutional Review Board

25 Buick Street
Room 154
Boston, Massachusetts 02215
T 617-358-6115
www.bu.edu/irb

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

May 26, 2011

IRB File #2566E
Title: Integration of positive youth development in community based youth development organizations

Celina Miranda
Department of Sociology/Social Work
264 Bay State Road
Cmiranda@bu.edu

Dear Ms. Miranda:

The Charles River Campus Institutional Review Board has completed its review of your research protocol referenced above. Expedited approval was granted in accordance with Federal Regulations **63 FR 60364 (6)** *Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes* **and (7)**: *Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies* and **45 CFR 46**. Please find your stamped consent form for the Key informers attached. The consent forms for the other subjects will be sent as soon as you can provide a letter of support from each organization. You can submit their letter or email to me directly and I will quickly send the consent forms stamped to you. You are approved to enroll and interview up to 10 key informants and 20 people per organization.

This approval is valid for one year, and will expire on **5/25/2012**. Please submit a progress report form, which is on our website, six weeks prior to your expiration. Any amendments or modifications to the protocol or consent form as now approved must be reported to and acted on by the IRB prior to implementation (ex. Recruiting more than the approved number of subjects). Please call me at 617/358-6115 if you have any questions or if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Debora Perez
CRC-IRB Analyst
Boston University

APPENDIX B: RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

Boston University

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Integration of Positive Youth Development in Community-Based Youth Development Organizations

Principal Investigator: Celina Miranda

The purpose of this Informed Consent Form is to get your permission to participate in a study aimed at understanding how community-based youth development organizations are responding to the Positive Youth Development (PYD) movement. This research will be used for a doctoral dissertation at Boston University.

This study involves the collection of multiple types of data including in-person interviews, observations and document review of data related to the history of the organization, funding, strategic planning and organizational structure.

Three community-based youth development organizations have been selected to participate in this study. These organizations were identified with the help of community members who are familiar with the youth field and youth organizations in Boston. The organizations were selected based on their expressed commitment to PYD. This study recognizes that over the past 20 years, positive youth development has increasingly become institutionalized in the youth field. However, few studies have looked at the institutionalization of positive youth development from an organizational perspective. This study aims to fill this research gap while also informing positive youth development practice and policy.

As a participant in the in-person interview component of this study, you are being asked to spend approximately 45 minutes sharing your experience with the organization and your opinions about how the organization is responding to the Positive Youth Development movement. You will be one of about 20 people that will be interviewed at the organization, including youth, program staff, Executive Director and Board members.

You should know that as a participant:

Study Title: Integration of Positive Youth Development in Community-Based Youth Development Organizations
IRB Protocol Number: 2566E
Consent Form Valid Date: 5/26/12
Study Expiration Date: 5/25/13

- **Your so privacy will be protected during and after the in-person interview.**

  The in-person interview will be conducted by the Principal Investigator (PI) of this study at a location of your choice.
  Data will be stored in locked file cabinets and password protected computer. Interview recordings will be destroyed at the end of the research. All research data will be assigned a code. The list that links the name of subjects to their code will be kept separately in a locked cabinet. Only the PI will have access to the mastercode. The signed consent forms will be kept separate from the research data.

- **Your answers and identity will be treated confidentially.**

  Your interview will be recorded. All written and recorded material is confidential. Your name will not appear on the tape or any other information that is collected during this study. No one in the organization will be able to identify you as a respondent.

  Your information may be used in publications or presentations. However, the information will not include any personal information that will allow you to be identified.

  Information from this study and study records may be reviewed and photocopied by the sponsor, the institution and by regulators responsible for research oversight such as the Office of Human Research Protections, and the Boston University Institutional Review Board.

- **Your participation is voluntary.**

  Taking part in this research is voluntary. You have a right to refuse to take part in this study. If you decide to be in this study you can refuse to answer any question you wish. If you decide to be in this study and then change your mind, you can withdraw from the research. Refusal to participate will not involve any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

  If there are any new findings during the study that may affect whether or not you wish to continue to take part in the research, you will be told about them as soon as possible. The investigator may decide to stop your participation in the study without your consent. This might happen if he/she decides that staying in the study will be bad for you or if he/she or the sponsor decides to stop the study.

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- **The in-person interview has minimal risk, but it is possible that some questions make some people feel uncomfortable.**

  The questions asked in the in-person interview are organizational in nature. While your will be asked to share your opinions, you will not be asked to reveal personal information.

  There may be unforeseen risks to the study. If new risks are identified the study staff will update you in a timely way about any new information that might affect your health, welfare, or decision to stay in the study.

- **The main benefit of this study is to better understand how community-based youth development organizations are responding to the Positive Youth Development movement.**

  There are no specific benefits to you for participating in this research, but if you are interested, you can receive a summary of study findings at the end of the research study. The individual benefit for participating in the study is primarily the benefit of knowing he/she contributed information to an important research effort.

If you have questions regarding this research or if you have a research related injury, either now or at any time in the future, please contact Celina Miranda at cmiranda@bu.edu or 617 970-8843. You can also contact Dr. Melvin Delgado, faculty advisor, at Boston University School of Social Work (617 353-7722). You may obtain further information about your rights as a research subject by contacting the Boston University Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects Research at 617-358-6115 or irb@bu.edu.

By signing this consent form you are indicating that you have read this consent form or it has been read to you. You are also indicating that you have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study and all of your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. By signing the consent form you are indicating that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study. You will be given a copy of the consent form to keep if you wish.

_____
Name of Subject

_____ _____
Signature of Subject Date

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Printed name of person obtaining consent

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

Study Title: Integration of Positive Youth Development in Community-Based Youth Development Organizations
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APPENDIX C: RESEARCH ASSENT FORM

Boston University

RESEARCH ASSENT FORM
Children 12-17 Years of Age

Title of Project: Integration of Positive Youth Development in Community-Based Youth Development Organizations

Principal Investigator: Celina Miranda

We want to tell you about something we are doing called a research study. A research study is when doctors collect a lot of information to learn more about something. A research study may be like a science experiment or collecting information to solve a mystery. The researchers are doing this study to learn more about how organizations that work with youth are including the ideas of the Positive Youth Development movement. We would like you to be in the study because you are a participant at _____(insert name of organization).

After we tell you about it, we will ask if you'd like to be in this study or not.

This study involves the gathering of many different types of information. The information gathered will include in-person interviews, observations and the looking over of some of the organization's documents. The documents that will be reviewed for the study will have information about the organization's history, structure, funding, and strategic plans.

Three organizations that work with youth have been chosen to be part of this study. These organizations were chosen with the help of community members who have knowledge about youth organizations in Boston. The organizations were chosen because of their commitment to the ideas of Positive Youth Development.

The interview part of this study will take about 45 minutes. You will be asked to share information about your experience as a youth member at _____ (insert name of organization). You will be one of about

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20 people will be interviewed at the organization, including other youth, program staff, Executive Director and Board members.

As a participant in this study, you should know:

- **Your privacy will be protected during and after the in-person interview.**

  The interview will take place at a place of your choice (e.g., the organization, your home). All information will be stored in a locked file cabinet at the Principal Investigator's home office. This information will only be available to the co-PIs and the dissertation committee.

- **Your answers and identity will be treated confidentially.**

  Your interview will be recorded. All written and recorded information is confidential. Your name will not appear on the tape or any other information that is collected during this study. No one in the organization will be able to identify you as a respondent.

  The researchers will do their best to keep the information that you tell them private. They will explain to you how they will do this. They will tell you if they plan to tell your parents, teachers or others any information that they learn from you while doing this research.

  Even though they will try to keep the information private there is a chance that someone who is not part of the study will learn some private information about you if you join this research study. Ask the researchers about this if you have any questions.

- **Your participation is voluntary.**

  Do you have to be in this study? No, you don't. No one will make you if you don't want to do this. Just tell the researchers if you decide not to do it. No one will be mad at you or change how they take care of you because you don't want to participate.

  If you decide to join and then later change your mind it is ok. If you decide to join but then don't want to answer some of the questions now or later that is ok.

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- **Because you are an adolescent a legal guardian must give permission for you to participate.**

- **The in-person interview has low risk to you. However, it is possible that some questions make some people feel uncomfortable.**

  The questions asked in the in-person interview are about the organization. While you will be asked to share your opinions, you will not be asked to provide any personal information.

  There may be some other things that happen that we don't know about right now. If we find out about any of these things we will let you know and you can decide if you want to stay in the research or not.

- **The main benefit of this study is to better understand how organizations that work with youth are including the ideas of the Positive Youth Development movement.**

  There are no direct benefits to you for taking part in this research. If you are interested, you can receive a copy of what we learn at the end of the research study. The individual benefit for taking part in the study is mainly the benefit of knowing you contributed information to an important research effort.

- **The only cost to you for this research is your time. You will not be paid to participate in this research study.**

If you have questions regarding this research or if you think you are being hurt by the research now or later you or your parents can contact Celina Miranda at 617 970-8843 or cmiranda@bu.edu. You can also contact Dr. Melvin Delgado, faculty advisor, at Boston University School of Social Work (617 353-7722). You may obtain further information about your rights as a research subject by contacting the Boston University Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects Research at 617-358-6115 or irb@bu.edu.

If you sign this assent form it means that you have read it or it has been read to you. It also means that you have been given the chance to ask questions about the study you're your questions have been answered. If you sign this it means that you are agreeing to participate and no one is forcing you.

The researchers will give you a copy of the consent form if you wish.

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Name of Subject

Signature of Subject Date

Printed name of person obtaining consent

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

Study Title: Integration of Positive Youth Development in Community-Based Youth Development Organizations
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APPENDIX D: PARENT CONSENT

Boston University

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Integration of Positive Youth Development in Community-Based Youth Development Organizations

Principal Investigator: Celina Miranda

The purpose of this Informed Consent Form is to get your permission for your son/daughter to take part in an interview for a research study. The purpose of this study is to understand how organizations that work with youth are including the ideas of the Positive Youth Development (e.g., youth leadership) movement. This research will be used for a doctoral dissertation at Boston University.

This study involves the gathering of many different types of information. The information gathered will include in-person interviews, observations and the looking over of some of the organization's documents. The documents that will be reviewed for the study will have information about the organization's history, structure, funding, and strategic plans.

Three organizations that work with youth have been chosen to be part of this study. These organizations were chosen with the help of community members who have knowledge about youth organizations in Boston. The organizations were chosen because of their commitment to the ideas of Positive Youth Development.

This research will take place at _____ (insert name of organization). The interview with your son/daughter will take about 45 minutes. Your son/daughter will be asked to share information about his/her experience as a youth member of _____ (insert name of organization). Your son/daughter will be one of 20 people that will be interviewed at the organization, including other youth, program staff, Executive Director and Board members.

You should know that as a participant:

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- **Your son/daughter's privacy will be protected during and after the in-person interview.**

  The in-person interview will be conducted by the Principal Investigator (PI) of this study at a location of your son/daughter chooses.
  Data will be stored in locked file cabinets and password protected computer. Interview recordings will be destroyed at the end of the research. All research data will be assigned a code. The list that links the name of subjects to their code will be kept separately in a locked cabinet. Only the PI will have access to the mastercode. The signed consent forms will be kept separate from the research data.

- **Your son/daughter's answers and identity will be treated confidentially.**

  Your son/daughter's interview will be recorded. All written and recorded material is confidential. Your son/daughter's name will not appear on the tape or any other information that is collected during this study. No one in the organization will be able to identify your son/daughter as a respondent.

  Your son/daughter's information may be used in publications or presentations. However, the information will not include any personal information that will allow him/her to be identified.

  Information from this study and study records may be reviewed and photocopied by the sponsor, the institution and by regulators responsible for research oversight such as the Office of Human Research Protections, and the Boston University Institutional Review Board.

- **Your son/daughter's participation is voluntary.**

  Taking part in this research is voluntary. Your son/daughter has a right to refuse to take part in this study. If he/she decides to be in this study he/she can refuse to answer any question if he/she wishes. If he/she decides to be in this study and then change his/her mind, he/she can withdraw from the research. Refusal to participate will not involve any penalty or loss of benefits to which he/she is otherwise entitled.

  If there are any new findings during the study that may affect whether or not he/she wishes to continue to take part in the research, he/she will be told about them as soon as possible. The investigator may decide to stop his/her participation in the study without your consent. This might happen if he/she decides that staying in the study will be bad for you or if he/she or the sponsor decides to stop the study.

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- **The in-person interview has minimal risk, but it is possible that some questions make some people feel uncomfortable.**

  The questions asked in the in-person interview are organizational in nature. While your son/daughter will be asked to share his/her opinions, he/she will not be asked to reveal personal information.

  There may be unforeseen risks to the study. If new risks are identified the study staff will update you in a timely way about any new information that might affect your son/daughter's health, welfare, or decision to stay in the study.

- **The main benefit of this study is to better understand how community-based youth development organizations are responding to the Positive Youth Development movement.**

  There are no specific benefits to your son/daughter for participating in this research, but if he/she is interested, he/she can receive a summary of study findings at the end of the research study. The individual benefit for participating in the study is primarily the benefit of knowing he/she contributed information to an important research effort.

If you have questions regarding this research or if you have a research related injury, either now or at any time in the future, please contact Celina Miranda at cmiranda@bu.edu or 617 970-8843. You can also contact Dr. Melvin Delgado, faculty advisor, at Boston University School of Social Work (617 353-7722). You may obtain further information about your rights as a research subject by contacting the Boston University Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects Research at 617-358-6115 or irb@bu.edu.

By signing this consent form you are indicating that you have read this consent form or it has been read to you. You are also indicating that you have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study and all of your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. By signing the consent form you are indicating that you voluntarily agree to allow your son/daughter to participate in the study. You will be given a copy of the consent form to keep if you wish.

_____

Name of Subject

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Signature of Subject Date

Printed name of person obtaining consent

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

Study Title: Integration of Positive Youth Development in Community-Based Youth Development Organizations
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APPENDIX E: PRE-SCREENING CASE CRITERIA

Pre-Screening Case Criteria

Criterion	Operational Definition	Data Source
Age	10 years or older	Website; IRS 990 form
Community Based Youth Organization	• Functions autonomously or independently from other organizations and or/institution • Independent governing board • Youth participation is voluntary	Website; IRS 990 form; and key informant interviews
Commitment to a PYD Framework	Demonstrate commitment to the Cs of PYD (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Lerner, 2004): Competence: social, academic, cognitive, and vocational competencies Confidence: improving self-esteem, self-concept, self-efficacy; identity and a belief in the future Connection: building and strengthening youth's relationship with other people and institutions Character: self-control, decreasing engagement in health compromising behaviors, develop respect for cultural and societal rules and standards, sense of right and wrong, and spirituality Caring (Compassion): improving youth's empathy and identification with others Contribution: contributing positively to self, family, community and civil society	Website, program brochures, annual reports and key stakeholder interviews

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW GUIDES

Case Study Interview Guide: Executive Director

Organizational History

- When was the organization founded and for what purpose?
- Who was involved in the founding of the organization?
- What was the early mission and vision of the organization? Has this changed over time?
- How was the organization financed in its early years? Has this changed over time?
- Has the focus of the organization changed since its founding?
- Are there aspects of the organization that have stayed constant since its founding?

Organizational Structure

- What is the board composition (i.e., gender, size, profession/skills)?
- What is the organization's management structure?
- How are the programs staffed?
- What are the qualifications required at each level of the organization (especially for program staff)? What qualifications do you look for in your program staff?
- Does each staff have clear functions within the organization?
- How are youth included in the various structural levels of the organization (i.e., board, management, program level)?

Programs

- What are the various programs the organization currently offers youth?
- How are the programs structured (i.e., time, days per week, location)?
- What are the target populations for each program?
- How do you go about creating new programs?
- Have the program offerings changed over time?

Financial Background/Funding Sources

- What is the organization's current operating budget?
- Has the size of the budget changed much in the past five years? If so, how?
- What are the main annual sources of revenue (e.g, individual contributions, private foundations, corporate, public funds)?
- Who are your major funders (top five)? Do they support operating or program expenses?
- Do any of these funders place a special emphasis on positive youth development components (e.g, leadership development, youth participation, skill development, etc.)?

Collaboration/Partnerships/Networks

- Does the organization belong to any professional networks?
- How does the organization collaborate/partner with other organizations?
- Who would you say are your major competitors? Why?
- Is there an organization(s) that you look up to? If so, what about those organizations do you admire?

PYD Commitment

- How does the organization define positive youth development?
- How are you implementing the various aspects of positive youth development in the organization?
- Has positive youth development always been a critical part of the organization?

Youth Voice/Youth Participation

- What role do youth play at various levels of the organization?
- How are youth involved in program planning?

- How are youth involved at the governance level? If youth are currently not involved, have you ever considered adding youth seats on the board?
- Are youth involved in various aspects of decision making in the organization? If so, how are youth involved?
- Do youth have input in decisions that are made about program activities?
- Do youth have input in decisions that are made about the organization (e.g., strategic planning)?
- If youth are not happy with something that is going on in a program and/or the organization in general, what do youth usually do?
- If youth want to see something done differently, who do youth talk to?
- Do youth ever take the lead in planning program activities and/or other events for the organization?

Case Study Interview Guide: Development Staff

Organizational History

- When was the organization founded and for what purpose?
- Who was involved in the founding of the organization?
- What was the original mission and vision of the organization? Has this changed over time?
- How was the organization financed in its early years? Has this changed over time?
- Has the focus of the organization changed since its founding?
- Are there aspects of the organization that have stayed constant since its founding?

Organizational Structure

- What is the board composition (i.e., gender, size, profession/skills)?
- What is the organization's management structure?
- How are the programs staffed?
- What are the qualifications required at each level of the organization (especially for program staff)?
- Does each staff have clear functions within the organization?
- How are youth included in the various structural levels of the organization (i.e., board, management, program level)?

Programs

- What are the various programs the organization currently offers youth?
- How are the programs structured (i.e., time, days per week, location)?
- What are the target populations for each program?
- How do you go about creating new programs?
- Have the program offerings changed over time?

Financial Background/Funding Sources

- What is the organization's current operating budget?
- Has the size of the budget changed much in the past five years? If so, how?
- What are the main annual sources of revenue (e.g, individual contributions, private foundations, corporate, public funds)?
- Who are your major funders (top five)? Do they support operating or program expenses?
- Do any of these funders place a special emphasis on positive youth development components (e.g, leadership development, youth participation, skill development, etc.)?

Collaboration/Partnerships/Networks

- Does the organization belong to any professional networks?
- How does the organization collaborate/partner with other organizations?
- Who would you say are your major competitors? Why?
- Is there an organization(s) that you look up to? If so, what about those organizations do you admire?

PYD Commitment

- How does the organization define positive youth development?
- How are you implementing the various aspects of positive youth development in the organization?
- Has positive youth development always been a critical part of the organization?

Youth Voice/Youth Participation

- What role do youth play at various levels of the organization?
- How are youth involved in program planning?

- How are youth involved at the governance level? If youth are currently not involved, have you ever considered adding youth seats on the board?
- Are youth involved in various aspects of decision making in the organization? If so, how are youth involved?
- Do youth have input in decisions that are made about program activities?
- Do youth have input in decisions that are made about the organization (e.g., strategic planning)?
- If youth are not happy with something that is going on in a program and/or the organization in general, what do youth usually do?
- If youth want to see something done differently, who do youth talk to?
- Do youth ever take the lead in planning program activities and/or other events for the organization?

Case Study Interview Guide: Program Staff

Organizational History

- When was the organization founded and for what purpose?
- Who was involved in the founding of the organization?
- What was the early mission and vision of the organization? Has this changed over time?
- How was the organization financed in its early years? Has this changed over time?
- Has the focus of the organization changed since its founding?
- Are there aspects of the organization that have stayed constant since its founding?

Organizational Structure

- What is the organization's management structure?
- How are the programs staffed?
- What are the qualifications required at each level of the organization (especially for program staff)?
- Does each staff have clear functions within the organization?
- How are youth included in the various structural levels of the organization (i.e., board, management, program level)?

Professional Background/Training

- What educational background/training do you bring to your position?
- Have you ever completed any training on positive youth development?
- What kind of professional opportunities are available in/outside of the organization? Have you taken advantage of any of these opportunities recently?

Programs

- What are the various programs the organization currently offers youth?
- How are the programs structured (i.e., time, days per week, location)?

- What are the target populations for each program?
- How do you go about creating new programs?
- Have the program offerings changed over time?

Collaboration/Partnerships/Networks

- Does the organization belong to any professional networks?
- How does the organization collaborate/partner with other organizations?
- Who would you say are your major competitors? Why?
- Is there an organization(s) that you look up to? If so, what about those organizations do you admire?

PYD Commitment

- How does the organization define positive youth development?
- How are you implementing the various aspects of positive youth development in the organization?
- Has positive youth development always been a critical part of the organization?

Youth Voice/Youth Participation

- What role do youth play at various levels of the organization?
- How are youth involved in program planning?
- How are youth involved at the governance level? If youth are currently not involved, have you ever considered adding youth seats on the board?
- Are youth involved in various aspects of decision making in the organization? If so, how are youth involved?
- Do youth have input in decisions that are made about program activities?
- Do youth have input in decisions that are made about the organization (e.g., strategic planning)?

- If youth are not happy with something that is going on in a program and/or the organization in general, what do youth usually do?
- If youth want to see something done differently, who do youth talk to?
- Do youth ever take the lead in planning program activities and/or other events for the organization?

Case Study Interview Guide: Board Member

Organizational History

- When was the organization founded and for what purpose?
- Who was involved in the founding of the organization?
- What was the original mission and vision of the organization? Has this changed over time?
- How was the organization financed in its early years? Has this changed over time?
- Has the focus of the organization changed since its founding?
- Are there aspects of the organization that have stayed constant since its founding?

Organizational Structure

- What is the board composition (i.e., gender, size, profession/skills)?
- What is the organization's management structure?
- How are the programs staffed?
- What are the qualifications required at each level of the organization (especially for program staff)?
- Does each staff have clear functions within the organization?
- How are youth included in the various structural levels of the organization (i.e., board, management, program level)?

Programs

- What are the various programs the organization currently offers youth?
- How are the programs structured (i.e., time, days per week, location)?
- What are the target populations for each program?
- How do you go about creating new programs?
- Have the program offerings changed over time?

Financial Background/Funding Sources

- What is the organization's current operating budget?
- Has the size of the budget changed much in the past five years? If so, how?
- What are the main annual sources of revenue (e.g, individual contributions, private foundations, corporate, public funds)?
- Who are your major funders (top five)? Do they support operating or program expenses?
- Do any of these funders place a special emphasis on positive youth development components (e.g, leadership development, youth participation, skill development, etc.)?

Collaboration/Partnerships/Networks

- Does the organization belong to any professional networks?
- How does the organization collaborate/partner with other organizations?
- Who would you say are your major competitors? Why?
- Is there an organization(s) that you look up to? If so, what about those organizations do you admire?

PYD Commitment

- How does the organization define positive youth development?
- How are you implementing the various aspects of positive youth development in the organization?
- Has positive youth development always been a critical part of the organization?

Youth Voice/Youth Participation

- What role do youth play at various levels of the organization?
- How are youth involved in program planning?

- How are youth involved at the governance level? If youth are currently not involved, have you ever considered adding youth seats on the board?
- Are youth involved in various aspects of decision making in the organization? If so, how are youth involved?
- Do youth have input in decisions that are made about program activities?
- Do youth have input in decisions that are made about the organization (e.g., strategic planning)?
- If youth are not happy with something that is going on in a program and/or the organization in general, what do youth usually do?
- If youth want to see something done differently, who do youth talk to?
- Do youth ever take the lead in planning program activities and/or other events for the organization?

Case Study Interview Guide: Youth

Experience with Organization

- How did you learn about the organization?
- How long have you been involved with the organization?
- What would you say is the purpose of this organization?

Program

- What program(s) do you participate in?
- How many days per week do you participate in the program?
- What would you say is the main purpose of the program(s) you participate in?
- What aspects of the program are your favorites? Why?
- Have you ever participated in any other youth program in the past? If yes, how is this program different or similar to previous programs you have been involved in?

Youth Voice/Youth Participation

- What are the different ways that youth are involved in the organization?
- Are all youth involved in the same way?
- Do youth have input in decisions that are made about program activities?
- Do youth have input in decisions that are made about the organization (e.g., strategic planning)?
- Do any youth participate as board members?
- If youth are not happy with something that is going on in a program and/or the organization in general, what do youth usually do?
- If youth want to see something done differently, who do you talk to?
- Do youth ever take the lead in planning program activities and/or other events for the organization?

Case Study Interview Guide: Funder

Organizational Background

- What is the mission of your organization?
- What are your funding priorities?

Funding History

- How long have you been funding _____ (insert name of CBYDO)?
- What was the focus of your last grant to _____ (insert name of CBYDO)?
- How does _____ (insert name of CBYDO) fit into your funding priorities?]

Funding Decisions

- How do you determine which CBYDOs to fund?
- Is there a type of youth program and/or organization that you prefer to fund?
- Does your organization prioritize any aspects of positive youth development over others?
- Are there specific youth development outcomes that you look for when assessing grant applications?

Funding Structure

- What type of funding do you provide organizations (i.e., program, operating, capital)?
- What's your average grant?
- Do you fund organizations for more than one year? If so, what you look for when you are refunding youth organizations?

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